



Oliver Cromwell

F. H. van. Hove. sculp.

HISTORY  
OF  
Oliver Cromwel,  
Lord Protector  
Of the Commonwealth of  
England, Scotland and Ireland,  
Being an Account of all the Battles,  
Sieges, and other Military Achieve-  
ments, wherein he was engaged, in  
these three Kingdoms.

AND ELSEWHERE  
Of his Civil Affairs, and the  
had the Supreme Power, till his  
Death.

Relating only Matters of State, without  
Faction or Party.

By R. H. C.

The Third Edition, enlarged.

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TO THE  
READER:

**T**HERE have been few Persons upon whose  
Minds so many different Sentiments  
have passed, as upon those of Oliver Crom-  
wel: some advancing his Courage & Repu-  
tation to the Height, others on the contrary, de-  
pressing them as low, and not allowing that he  
had any thing praiseworthy in his Conduct,  
in those great Employments and Offices, even  
the Government of the three Nations, which he  
passed through: Yes, they invade the Almight-  
ies Province, of judging the Hearts and  
Thoughts of Men, attributing all to Hypocri-  
sie and Ambition, asserting that he had hopes  
and expectations of raising himself to that  
Grandeur where he after arrived, many  
years before he attained it; nay so early as  
when he was but a Colonel, and can hardly  
be thought to have had the least prospect there-  
of. But to leave every Man to his Opinion

in this matter, I thought it might not be unacceptable to my Country-men, to give a plain and impartial Account of matters of Fact performed and acted by him, both in his Military and Civil Capacity, without Reflections on Parties, which ought to be the care of a Faithful Historian, if he expects to be believed by Posterity. It is a Maxim, That great Virtues have been often mixed with great Vices in many great Men in the World; neither is Cromwell excused from this Censure, who had several worthy and blameable Qualities in him; but since he is out of the reach either of good or bad Report, I shall leave him, and refer you to read his Achievements, which are briefly related in the following *Annals*.

A. B.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
Oliver Cromwel.

**O**liver Cromwel was descended of an Ancient Family in Huntington-shire, who had a plentiful Estate; his Grandfather was Sir Hen. Cromwel, a Person of good Reputation, and had issue five Sons, Sir Oliver his Eldest, Henry, Robert, Richard and Philip. This our Oliver Cromwel was Son of the third Brother Richard, who was in much esteem in his Country, and Married Eliz. Steward, Niece of Sir Rob. Steward, a Gentleman of a considerable Estate in that Country, by whom he had this Oliver, who was born in Huntington, April 25, 1599. and had his Name given by his Uncle Sir Oliver. When he was a Child, he seemed to delight in Man-like Exercises, and by the care of his Father was sent to the Free School of that Town, and afterward to Sidney College in Cambridge, where while he was a Student, there were several Omens of his future Grandure; and he was observed more to be enclined to the Military than Contemplative Life: During his continuance here, his Father died, upon which he returned home, and spent his time in the Youthful

Follies and Extravagancies incident to Persons of his Age and Temper, so his Mother, by the advice of her Friends, sent him up to London, and placed him in Lincoln-Inn, to qualify him for a Gentleman, and put him in a Capacity to be serviceable to his Country.

Having continued here some time, and not able to confine himself to this Sedentary Employment, he again returns into the Country, and then proceeds in the same legal Course as before, but as he grew in years he became more solid and considerate, so that in a while he was as remarkable for his Sobriety, as before for his Rudeness and Vandy, which so much pleased his Uncle Sir Rob. Steward, that he left him his Heir to a fine Estate of 4 or 500 pounds a year. But before this came into his Hands by the Death of his Uncle, the Reparing of it, and the remarkable Alteration in his Disposition, recommended him to Eliz. Daughter of Sir James Boucher, whom he Married: And though at first, when this notable Reformation was perceived in him, he adhered to the Church of England, frequenting the most famous Preachers with much seeming warmth and zeal; yet when those called Puritans grew Popular, he began to have a good Opinion of them, inviting the Ministers to his House, and entertaining them with much kindness, and to demonstrate the reality of this change of his Mind, there is an Instance of his freely returning a considerable sum of Money to a Person from whom he had won it some years before by Gaming.

Such Actions, and the seeming Sincerity of his Conversion, raised his esteem yet higher with all Persons of that Party, who had such an opinion of his Wisdom and Abilities, that when King Charles I. called that Parliament in 1640. which for its duration was Named the Long, he was by the Interest of his Friends elected Parliamentman for the Town of Cambridge. Soon after the war began between the King and Parliament, one Party declaring they took

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Arms for defending the Prerogatives of the Crown, & the other the Priviledges of Parliament & Liberties of the People. When this fatal division happened, wherein so many thousands lost their Lives & Estates, Cromwel, whose Inclination was always Martial, presently engaged in the quarrel, & having a Commission from the Parliament, quickly raised a Troop of Horse for their service, of the most promising Men he could choose; and to try their Valour in jest, before they came to exercise it in earnest, he secretly ordered a dozen of them to rush out suddenly upon the rest, with a Trumpet sounding a Charge, as if they came from some of the Kings Garrisons not far off, which they performed with so much briskness, that about 20 of the new Troopers fled with all possible speed, whom Cromwel having reproached for their Cowardice, dismounted and cashier'd, mounting their places with Persons of a more courageous temper.

He was likewise a Commissioner in the Ordinance for settling the Militia, whereby the Eastern Counties associated together, declaring they would stand by the Parliament against all Opposers; and Cromwel being sensible that the Universtity of Cambridge was most inclined to the Royal Interest, he had a particular regard to the place of his Education, and very dextrously secured both the Town, and a great quantity of the Colledge Plate, even at the very instant when it was upon the point of being conveyed to the King at Oxford. After this he forms a Garrison at Whitlesca, where a Bridge joins the County of Norfolk with the Isle of Ely, and is the only passage from thence into Lincolnshire, the greatest part whereof was possesed by the King's party; and by this means he cut off all communication between the Kings Party of both Counties, wherein he had the assistance of Coll. Ireton, with whom he here became first acquainted.

The King in opposition to the Association which the Parliament had settled, issued out his Commission of Array, which was first designed to be put to Execu-

## *The History of*

by Sir Hen. Courtenay, High Sheriff of Har-  
tfordshire at St. Albans, who thereby intended to  
raise the County for the King, but while he was go-  
ing to proclaim for Parliament, and then General  
the Earl of Essex, thwarted by the vigilance of Crom-  
wel he was prevented in his purpose, who coming  
suddenly into the Town with a Party of Horse, sur-  
prized Sir Henry, and some other Gentlemen his  
Associates, whom he sent to London Prisoners, to the  
great satisfaction of the Parliament, who were some-  
what disturbed that such an attempt should be made  
so near the City, and returned him the Thanks of  
the House; from this time looking upon him as a Per-  
son of Merit and Conduct: After which he soon aug-  
mented his Troop to 1000, many being willing to  
devote their Lives with such a Fortunate Comman-  
der. And hearing that some Knights and Gentlemen  
were at a Lowers Tost in Suffolk, with Sir John Pe-  
tas, Sir Edward Baker, &c. designing to make a  
Counter Association in that County and Norfolk for the  
King's service; with indefatigable diligence he marches  
thither, securing them all, which was a fatal blow  
to the King's Interest; and Lyn-Regis, which  
the Royalist maintained, being soon after surren-  
dered, was so great a discouragement to them, that  
during the whole War they could never after find a  
ny opportunity to shew their affection to the King's  
Cause.

The associated Counties being thus firmly settled  
for the Parliament, Cromwel was made Lieut. Gen-  
eral to the Earl of Manchester, who had a sepearte  
Command in those Counties, and was now ordered  
to march Northward with those Forces, and join Ge-  
neral Leffly and the Scots, assisted by Sir T. Fairfax,  
for reinforcing the Siege before York, then belea-  
guered by Leffly: In his march he blocks up the Gar-  
rison of Newark, and meeting some of their Party at  
Ganton, charged them with such fury, that though  
much superior to him in number, yet himself march-



ing in the Van, he soon put them to flight. Having thus made a quick dispatch at Newark, he proceeded to York, in which the Marquess of Newcastle had put the best part of the King's Forces.

The King having had an advantage against the Earl of Essex at Lestrich in Cornwall, sent away Prince Rupert as General, with a powerful Army to raise the Siege of York, which he judged to be of great Importance; the three Generals, Lesly, Manchester, and Fairfax, drew off their Forces from the City to fight, as knowing if they got the day, it must surrender to the Victor without blows. The Prince having notice of their raising the Siege, sent some of his Troops toward Hafford-Moor, to face General Lesly and his Scots; but in the meantime enters into York with 2000 Horse, and all Provisioners for their Relief, after which he resolved to fight the Parliamentarians; though dissuaded by the Marquess of Newcastle, knowing what hazard the Estates of the King's Friends would run if he should miscarry, and that upon the fate of this Battle the gain or loss of the North depended. However the Prince pretending to march to Tadcaster, Lesly with his Army followed him, but returning again suddenly to Marston-Moor, he takes what advantage of Ground he thinks fit, and Lesly coming up, the Generals Marshall'd their Army in the best order they could for the shortness of time. Fairfax and Lesly's Horse making the Right Wing, and the Scotch Troops and Manchester the Left, under the command of Cromwel; which charge was that day committed to him; the Foot making up the main Body. The Armies being drawn up in this form, the first Onset was performed by P. Rupert's Left Wing, with such fury as they broke the Parliament Right, and pursuing their advantage with much Vigour, the Earth was soon covered with the slain. Cromwel being in the Left Wing and ignorant of the misfortune of the Right, with much Courage engages the Prince's Right Wing, which quickly altered the Scene



of Affairs, and soured the Victory out of the Prince's Hand, who seemed in probability to have obtained it. For Fairfax's Forces were totally defeated, and beaten out of the Field, when Cromwell with his Troops fell on with such Resolution, that he routed the Prince and his Reserves, and with the same Violence charged the Marquis of Newcastle's Foot, who yet stood in the Field: was almost cleared, and then were forced to give way to the number of their Enemies: there were many slain, especially in the pursuit, Cromwell obtained the name of Iron-sides, from the invincible firmness of his Troops, which no force could separate or break. It is reckoned to be the bloodiest Fight that happened during the War, it being judged near ten thousand men were slain on both sides. Upon this defeat, P. Rupert and his Followers charge the miscarriage upon the Marquis of Newcastle, and he again upon them, who thereupon left the King down. The consequence of this Victory was the rendition of York, which being now strictly besieged, and despatching of succour, Sir Tho. Glenham the Viceroy Governor was obliged to deliver it up.

This successful Cromwell reputation higher still, and the Parliament at Westminster were extremely pleased with his Courage and Prudence, that when he saw part of the Army routed, yet with an undaunted presence of mind, he took occasion from thence to animate his Soldiers to the more vigorous recovery of the Victory, even when the Scots had almost totally left the Field, and at whom for this and other reasons, he had no great opinion afterward. Several other Exploits he was engaged in, both in the North and West, even before he had any considerable Command. Not while he was in the same quality under the Earl of Manchester, he was ordered to return to the North to oppose the King then marching triumphantly from the West after the defeat of Essex, who having been unfortunate in his Enterprises, Cromwell this successful Commander was joined with him, who at the second

Great Battle at Newberry, about four Months after Marston Moor, was favoured, though not with a complete Victory, yet with such good fortune, that where his Troops were, the Royalists gave back with so much precipitation, as greatly endangered the Kings Person, had not the Earl of Cleveland interposed, and with much hazard prevented the pursuit.

A late Author writes, that when the King summoned the Members of Parliament of his Party to meet at Oxford, in January 1644. William A. Bishop of York was likewise summoned, with whom the King privately consulted, what course was best to be taken in the present circumstances of Affairs: The Archbishop advised him by all means to come to an agreement with the Parliament. For since the Scots were come into England in such numerous Armies, and the English of the Parliaments Party in these two last years had gained such Military Knowledge, it would in all appearance be impossible for the King long to withstand their Forces; but above all he advised the King to get Cromwell over to his side, if possible; otherwise to take him off by any means; or else he would be fatal to the Kings Cause.

Now was Cromwell less terrible to the Earl of Essex and the Scots Commissioners, than to the King's Party. In that one Evening the Earl of Essex, and several of his Confederates, namely Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Meyrick, and others, with the Scots Commissioners, were in consultation how to get rid of Cromwell; and sent to Sergeant Whitelock and Maynard about it. Who being met, the Earl of London Chancellor of Scotland spake thus; in his Scots dialect (observe that those which the Parliament of England called Malignants the Scots named Innocents.)

“Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitelock, I can assure you of the great opinion, both my Brethren and self have of your worth and abilities; else we should not have desired this meeting with you: And since it is his Excellencies (the Earl of Essex) pleasure that I

should acquaint you with the matter upon which  
your Council is desired; I shall obey his Command  
and briefly recite the business to you. You ken  
very well that Gen. Lieutenant Cromwel is no friend  
of ours; and since the advance of our Army in  
England, he has used all underhand and cunning  
means to take off from our Honour, and the Merit  
of this Kingdom; an evil requital of all our hard  
and services; but to this, and we are nevertheless  
fully furnished of the affections and gratitude of the  
good people of the Nation in general. It is therefore  
a requisite for us, and for carrying on the cause of  
the two Kingdoms, that this Obstacle or Remora be  
renter'd out of the way, whom we foresee will  
be no small Impediment to us in the good design we  
have undertaken. He is not only no friend to us  
and the Government of our Kirk, but he is no  
willing to his Excellency, whom you and we  
all cause to love and honour; and if he be per-  
mitted to go on in this way, may I fear endanger the whole  
business; Therefore we are to advise of some course  
to be taken for prevention of this mischief. You  
ken very well the accord between the two Nations,  
and the Union by the solemn League and Covenant,  
and if any be an Incendiary between the two Na-  
tions, he is to be proceeded against. Now the mat-  
ter is wherein we desire your Opinion, What you  
take the meaning of an Incendiary to be, and whe-  
ther Gen. Cromwel be not like an Incendiary at  
this instant hereby? and which way will be best to  
proceed against him, if he be proved like an In-  
cendiary, and that we may clepe his Wings from soar-  
ing to the prejudice of our Cause. Now you may  
ken, that by our Law in Scotland, we clepe him an  
Incendiary who kindleth Coals of Contention, and  
ratifieth differences in the State, to the publick dan-  
amage, and he is *Tanquam Publicus Hostis Patrie*.  
Whether your Law be the same or not, you ken  
best;

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"best, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore we desire your judgement in these Points.

To this Mr. Whitlock answered, That the sense of the Word Incendiary is the same here as in Scotland, namely, One that kindleth the Fire of Contention in a State, that kindleth not burning Flames of Contention: But whether Lieutenant General Cromwel be such an Incendiary, must be proved either by his Words or Actions; That he took him to be a Gentleman of quick and subtle Parts, and who had a great Interest in both Houses of Parliament, and that it would be necessary to collect such particular passages relating to him, as might amount to prove him an Incendiary, before they could expect the Parliament would proceed against him. Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton and others, related some particular Passages and words of Cromwel; adding that he had not that Interest in the Parliament as was supposed; and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him; but the Scots Commissioners were not so forward to join with them in it, and so this Affair ended.

The War still continuing with much bloodshed, and no period in probability like to be put to it, the Parliament apprehended want of Conduct in some of their chief Commanders, and resolved to new Model their Army, and that no offence might be given to any of their own Members by being discarded, they pass the Self-denying Ordinance, so called, whereby they declare, That no Member of Parliament should bear Office in the Army, or Garrisons, but should either attend the service of the House, unless they had leave for so doing; and that within 40 days from the publishing thereof. By this the Earl of Essex, Manchester and Denbigh, Sir W. Waller, Sir Ph. Stapleton, and divers others, were dismissed; after which they recruited their Forces, much diminished by sickness, and the late defeat in the West, and in a short time they mustered a compleat Army of 25000; that

14, 12000 Foot, 6000 Horse, and 1000 Dragons, Sir Tho. Fairfax General, who gave out divers Commissions to them, then newly called Independents, and among others Ireton was raised to be Commissary General of the Horse, who had newly married one of Cromwell's Daughters, and was as great a Politician as himself.

Upon publishing this Ordinance, which was in 1645, Cromwell then in the West, in Obedience thereto, returns toward London, and having notice that Gen. Fairfax was at Windsor, went to wait upon him and take his leave of him, but the Parliament were too sensible of his usefulness and conduct to discharge him, so the next morning, a Commission was sent to him to be Lieut. General of the whole Army. This alteration gave hope to the Royal Party of future success against this new Army, in many principal Commanders being laid aside and discontinued, and such a number of unexperienced Youth Listed, but their expectations soon vanished, for Cromwell by virtue of the dispensing Power of the Parliament, being still continued and advanced to so great a Command, to make it appear that they were not mistaken in their choice, he instantly proceeded to Action, being sent by Fairfax with a flying party of Horse and Dragons, to intercept a Convoy of 2000 Horse, consisting of the Queen, the Earl of Northampton, and Colonel Palmers Regiments; who with some other Troops were marching to Oxford to bring off the King and Train of Artillery, and to procure Recruits for the Army, and so join with the Kings main mid-land Forces under Pr. Rupert, then about Worcester, and then take the Field. In this exploit Cromwell was so diligent, that with extraordinary celerity he met with, surprized and routed them at Iship Bridge, taking 900 Horse, and 200 Prisoners, with the Queens Standard, and many Persons of Quality, and pushing on his success, having notice that Sir Wm. Vaughan, with 950 Foot, were marching toward Radcot-bridge, he followed

followed them, taking their Commander Lieut. Colonel Lindsey, and some other Prisoners, pursuing the rest to Blenheim-House, where Col. Windham was Governor, and in the height of his Victories summoned him to an immediate surrender, or else to expect the utmost vengeance of an enraged Souldiery. The Governor terrified with these threats, and overpersuaded by some Ladies, who came to visit his Bride he being newly married, and having little hopes of relief from Oxford, delivered up the House with all the Arms and Ammunition therein, for which, when he came to Oxford he was shot to death by sentence of a Council of War. This Enterprize was reckoned as a happy Omen of his future success in his new honour, and the prudence of the Parliament magnified in continuing so deserving a Commander in the Army, who to secure his Reputation, resolved upon a more dangerous attempt, namely to retake Faringdon-House, of which Sir Geo. Life, a person of invincible courage, was Governor, and a Garrison which has been of great advantage to the King. To effect this considerable service, he took 600 of M. Gen. Brown's Foot at Abington, with which he stormed the Place, but was as stoutly repulsed, and forced to retire with the loss of 40 of his Souldiers, and in his retreat was attacked by a Party of L. Goring's Horse, lately come from the Siege of Taunton, who gave Cromwel the first check he had met with, taking three Colours, and Major Bethel Prisoner, and then returned to the siege at Taunton.

At this time Fairfax had Order to march to the relief of Taunton, and Cromwel was left behind with Brown, to watch the motion of the Kings Army at Oxford, who were then ready to take the field, and to prevent them from joining a brave Body of Horse that were coming out of Worcester-shire, under the Princes Rupert and Maurice: But the Royal Army was grown so potent, that Cromwel durst not attempt either to fight or hinder their march, so that Fair-

Fairfax was summoned and ordered to lie before Oxford, to oblige the King to secure that place, and upon advantage to fight him; The King having joined the two Princes, and raised the siege of Chester, beleaguered by Sir Wil. B. Ireton, was marching toward the Associated Countrey, where lay the strength of the Parliament; so Cromwel was ordered with all speed to secure the Isle of Ely, as being a Frontier to the rest of the Countrey: But the King laid down before Leicester, and soon took it, which so alarmed the Parliament, that they Order Fairfax to rise from Oxford, and seek out and fight the King's Army, who (as he writ to his Queen) was then in a more hopeful condition than during the War. Fairfax obeyed and Cromwel being recruited with 600 Horse of the Association, came to join the Army then marching toward Northampton.

The General had information that the King had quartered his Foot and Carriages upon Burrough Hill near Daventry, as if he intended there to expect him, but it was only to tarry till the 12000 Horse, sent as a Convoy to the Cartel taken in Leicester in Northamptonshire for relief of Oxford, were returned, designing afterward the reduction of Pomfret Castle in the North, and all the other places lost since Marston-Moor; and if Fairfax followed him, to have fought him with the first advantage; which he could not do so conveniently where the Parliament had their Garrisons. But Cromwel disappointed this Project, by whose Council Ireton was dispatch'd with a detachment of Horse to take an account of the posture of the Kings Army; with Order that if they marched Northward, he should skirmish and employ them in the Rear, till the whole Army could arrive and engage. The day before the Battle the General marched to Gilsborough, five Miles from Burrough hills, from whence the Royalists, their Horse being come back from Oxford, were bending their Course Northward, and the next Night the King was extremely surprized



surprized to find Ireton give an alarm to his quarters at Naseby, from whence about eleven a clock the King departed to Hamborough, where Prince Rupert the Van of the Army were, and at a Council of War it was resolved on, as being the Kings opinion, due to secure his Rear, they should march no farther North, but presently give the Enemy Battle, depending much upon the valour of the Foot, who were lately animated by the plunder of Leicester.

This advice was followed, though most of the Officers were for staying till the Lord Goring's Forces came up, but the King being much stronger in Horse doubted not of success, and the other were as ready to engage, so that both agreeing in discord, a large Field near Naseby was the place chosen by both parties for the Stage of this Tragedy, wherein Fathers fought against Sons, and Brothers gave Death to each other, all obligations of kindred and friendship being laid aside; occasioned by that unnatural spirit of division, which Heaven for our Crimes had sent amongst us. The King had Intelligence that Fairfax for fear was retreating to Northampton, but found it a mistake, he being then employed in marshalling his Army in Naseby Field, and waiting for his coming. Cromwel and Whalley commanding the Right Wing, and Ireton the Left. The Kings Front was composed of a gallant Body of Horse, the Foot made a second Body, the Right Wing commanded by P. Rupert and Maurice, the left by Sir Jacob Astley, and the Lord Langley commanded the Northern Brigade of Horse, other ancient Commanders who had been in the Low-Countries having their several Posts, the King himself being Generalissimo. These being drawn out with the Reserves, took up the whole breadth of the Field: The Parliaments Foot made a firm Body in the midst, commanded by Major General Skippon, secured by the Horse on each side. P. Rupert charged first with such fury upon Ireton, notwithstanding their valiant resistance, that the left Wing which he commanded





was utterly routed, and his men driven upon the Kings Foot, Ireton was wounded in the Thigh with an Halbert, and kept Prisoner during the Fight, and the Field cleared on that side. The Prince pursued them through the Town, and then fell upon the Waggon, where being repulsed, he lost so much time, that Cromwel and Fairfax who had not yet stir'd from their ground, but with short Speeches and Encouragements were encouraging their Men, came up, and Cromwel clapping spurs to his Horse, charged clear thro three Bodies of Longdales Brigade, and utterly routed them, never ceasing till he had beat the whole right Wing of the Kings Army from their ground, without any possibility of Rallying, so that having raised the Field before

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him, dividing the Horse from the Foot, they were  
pressed a little to each other. In this encounter, one  
of the Kings Commanders knowing Cromwel, advan-  
ced briskly before the head of his Troops, to exchange  
a single bullet with him, and was with the like gal-  
lantry encountred by him, both sides forbearing to  
come in, till their Pistols being discharged, the Kings  
Officer with a flanting back blow of a broad Sword,  
happened to cut the Ribbon that tyed Cromwells Mor-  
tion, and with a draw drew it off his Head, and now  
ready to repeat his stroke, Cromwells party came in  
and rescued him, and one of them alighting threw up  
his Head piece into his Saddle, which he hastily catch-  
ing, and a little disturbed at the chance, clapt it the  
wrong way on his Head, and so fought the rest of the  
day, which proved highly fortunate to his side, tho  
the King managed the fight with much magnanimity  
and expertness, and exposed himself to several threat-  
ning dangers in the field. The Horse being sepe-  
rated from the Foot, fled toward Leicester, Cromwel  
sent some Troops in pursuit to prevent their rallying  
and himself joining with his own Foot, so incompe-  
ted the Kings Infantry, that notwithstanding the cou-  
rage they had shewed that day, so that their very ene-  
mies admired them, yet being tired and hopeless of  
relief, seeing death on every side, they laid down  
their Armes and beg'd for Quarter.

This memorable Battle was fought June 14. 1645.  
The Parliamentarians word was, God with Us. The  
Royalists, God and Queen Mary; and the success of  
it gave an absolute and undoubted Victory to the Par-  
liament, there being 5000 Prisoners carried to Lon-  
don; the Kings Standard and other Colours were ta-  
ken, with all the Ordnance, and a very rich Booty; a  
great quantity of Gold and Silver, and all the secret  
Letters of the King, which were carried to London,  
and publicly read before a great Assembly of Chi-  
urgens, where many Members of Parliament were pre-  
sent, and leave was given to as many as pleased, to  
know

knew the Kings hand, to refuse them if they were  
 counterfeit. But so few were slain in this fight, that  
 the Reader may justly wonder how so many Prisoners  
 should be taken, and so much wealth gotten with the  
 loss of so little blood; for on the Kings side scarce 400  
 were slain, and on the Parliaments not 100. The  
 Kings damage was very considerable, who had lost  
 a brave Army, lately heightened with success by the  
 taking of Leicester, and there seemed no possibility  
 of raising another, the Victors prosecuting their ad-  
 vantage with much vigilance and impetuosity. For  
 marching to Leicester it was soon delivered to them,  
 where Fairfax leaving a Garrison, to hinder the King  
 from recruiting himself, followed him close, march-  
 ing Westward, both in pursuit of him, and to raise  
 the Siege of Taunton, which had been long blockt up  
 by the L. Goring, and held out to Admiration; but  
 upon the approach of the Parliaments Army, the  
 siege was raised to their great Joy, who still pursue  
 Goring, and over take him near Lampport, where  
 they engage and put them to flight. But Cromwel  
 would not suffer part of the Horse to pursue, till being  
 all come up together, he himself led them on with  
 such notable conduct, that most of the foot were  
 made Prisoners, and almost all the Cannon taken.  
 From hence he marched to Bridgwater, which tho'  
 of considerable strength, and defended with much  
 courage, yet is soon taken by storm; for Sir Thomas  
 Fairfax laid down before it, and after Summons at-  
 tacks the Town desperately, gaining the lower part,  
 and then sends a second Summons, telling them;  
 'That their denial wrought no other thoughts of com-  
 passion in him, but only to Women and Children,  
 who might suffer by the Governours obstinacy. So  
 divers Ladies Gentlewomen and Children came  
 out of the Town, and then a second assault was made  
 so effectually, that the Governour Capitulated, and  
 surrendered it, there being 1000 Officers, and Sol-  
 diers

44 Prisoners, 44 Barrells of Powder, 1500 Ammunition, 44 Cannon, and 400 weight of March.

About this time a sort of People armed themselves in the West, and took upon them the Name of Club-men, declaring they would permit no Armies to Quarter within their bounds, and were so hardy as to make Terms with the General, as if by Club-Law they would force him out of their Country, though flurried with Victory, imagining that with their Clubs they were able to force their Swords, from those who had so lately deprived so many gallant men of theirs. But Cromwell doubting the event of such riotous proceedings, having Intelligence of the Place of their assembling, marches toward them with a party of Horse, though they were 4000 strong, and incamped on the top of a Hill, with their Ensigns displayed, and this was the end of them.

If you offer to Plunder, or take our Cattle.

You may be sure we'll give you Battle.

But Cromwell resolves to venture it, and charging up the Hill utterly routs and puts them to flight, making 400 Prisoners, whom he carried to Sherburne. Sir Lewis Dives being Governour of the Castle, which was then besieged by Fairfax, and in a short time taken by storm.

Bristol was reckoned a place of Importance, as being reckoned the greatest and wealthiest City in the West, wherein Prince Rupert was at that time, with 5000 Horse and Foot, and all necessary Provisions. When the Parliaments Army came before it, the General sends a Summons to the Prince to deliver the City, which being rejected, Cromwell and the chief Officers advised the storming it, whereupon the Prince proposed to surrender, Upon condition to march away in the height of Honour, with their Arms, Colours flying, Trumpets, Drums beating, Powder and March, Baggage, Horse, Arms, ten pieces of Cannon, and 50 Barrells of Powder. Lastly the Fortifications to be slighted, and the City to be no more a Garrison.

But

But these Conditions being thought too favourable they proceeded to storm so warily that the Prince though he used all possible means to preserve it, was obliged to surrender, wherein were found 140 Cannon mounted, 100 Barrels of Powder, and 50000 lb of Gunpowder in the Royal Fort for 150 Men for 320 days; the Castle was victualled for half so long, the Prince had in Garrison 3500 Horse, 1000 Foot, 1000 of the trained Bands and Auxiliaries; so that the gaining this place was of great consequence to the Parliament.

After this, Cromwel marches with a Detachment of four Regiments, to besiege the strong Castle of the Devises, to the natural Fortifications whereof, Sir Ch. Lloyd the Governour had made several ingenious additions, so that judging it almost impregnable, he sent no other return to the Summons, but, Withstand and Wear it. Yet the Fortune of Cromwel prevailed against all difficulties, and his Name brought terror where ever he came, so that he quickly forced the Governour to deliver the place upon Terms. Winchester ran the same Fate after the Governour had been mortified by the Battery of some Cannon and Mortars; where Cromwel, who was punctual to Articles, having notice that some of his Men had infringed them, he caused one to be hanged for example to others, and sent the rest to Oxford, to the Governour Sir Tho. Glemham, to inflict what punishment upon them he pleased.

The next Exploit wherein our Heroe was concerned, was the reducing of Basing House, which seemed to defie all attempts made against it, being the Mansion House of the Marquess of Winchester, built on a rising ground, and surrounded with a brick Rampart lined with Earth, and all encompassed with a deep Ditch. The Marquess was resolved to defend it, tho' at first there was none but his own Family, and 100 Musketeers from Oxford, but the King supplied him as occasion required. This was not the first time the Garrison had been attackt without success, at first he

the Colonel, Norton and Harvey, and then by Sir William Waller with 4000 men, and tho' some accused him William the Conqueror, yet he received here such rude treatment, as incouraged the Besieged to defend it with the greater vigour, who in several gallant Sallies did him great damage, so that the Place seemed impregnable; but Cromwel having settled all matters at Winchester with the late Governor Sir W. Ogle, marches next day to Basing, and raises a strong Battery, that quickly made it capable of being assaulted: which advantage he instantly perceiving, orders a storm from the several Posts, which though it seemed full of danger, and might have shewn an ordinary courage, yet Cromwel, who thought no place invincible, and the more danger the more honour, leads on his men with such fury, that the Besieged soon found themselves incapable to make any further resistance, and so were forced to yield upon Articles. The gaining of Basing was reckoned a great piece of Service to the Nation, whereby the Road was opened for Trade from London to the West which had been long obstructed by this Garrison. He goes from hence to Longford House near Salisbury, but the Governour despairing of preserving it, after Basing had been forced to surrender to Cromwel victorious Arms, upon the first Summons delivered it up.

He then marches with the Army, commanded by Fairfax toward the West. In December they took Tiverton, and with strange success stormed and took Dartmouth, drove the Kings Army into Cornwall and at Torrington gave Hopson a great overthrow. In February they entered Cornwall, and obliged Prince Charles to retire thence and sail to the Isles of Scilly, and soon after Hopsons Forces were disbanded, and Pendennis Castle being surrendered to Coll. Portescue. The whole County of Cornwall and the West, were by Fairfax and Cromwel reduced to the obedience of the Parliament, and nothing remained in the North but

that the Garrison of Newark, so that the Royalists hopes were very low; only they had some expectation from a Party still remaining under Sir Jacob Astley, but Coll. Morgan encountering him near Stow in the Wold, routed him, and took himself and 1600 of his Men prisoners, so that this hope soon vanished with the rest; when he was seized, he spake aloud these words, 'You have done your work, and wholly vanquished the Kings Party, unless your own dissensions raise them again.

After this, Newark, the strongest Garrison in the North, was close besieged by Lazen, Points and Roffiter, while Fairfax hastened to besiege Oxford itself, which was the head Quarters. The King had now no Garrisons left but this, Banbury, Wallingford, Worcester, Ragland, and Pendennis, all which in a short time were also taken, and could only glory in this, That they had held out after Oxford. The besieged Newarkeers, though the Plague raged in the Town, and they began to want Provisions, yet sustained themselves upon hopes of some differences between the English and Scots, for now the Scots began to complain for want of pay, of the neglect of Church Government, and the Covenant. The Parliament answered, 'That in two years space they had received above two hundred thousand pounds for Pay, besides a vast sum which had been extorted from the weeping Inhabitants of the Northern Counties, and that their Army had not answered their expectations, lying idle the best time of the year, and if they were so precise in observation of the Covenant, why contrary thereto, had they put Garrisons into Newcastle, Tangour and Carlisle? Neither ought they to mention Religion, being unsettled, since the Parliament were consulting about it, being a matter which requires time and mature deliberation.

From these dissensions the King expected some advantage, yet Oxford was already blockt up by Fleetwood and Ireton, and Fairfax was dayly expected



to come and turn it into a close Siege, before this should happen, the King resolved to go out of the City, and consulting with some of his inward Counsellors, it was concluded he should go to the Scots Camp, then lying before Newark; the King sent Monsieur the French Ambassador before, and himself soon after, as Coll. Alburnham men (who had a pale from Fairfax to go out of Oxford, about some private affairs) with a Cloak-bag behind him, escaped unperceived, and came to Newark, which when the be- sieged Newarkers had notice of, being in great distress, they upon condition surrendered the Town. The Scots seemed amazed at the Kings unexpected coming to them, and so signified the matter to the English Commissioners then at the place. Letters were instantly written to London and Edinburgh, and the Parliament at Westminster required the Scots to detain the King at Southwell near Newark, but contrary to this order, they carried him to Richmond, where a greater part of their Army lay, and soon afterwards without further Order, removed their Camp generally, and carried him away to Newcastle without delay, excusing their departure by alledging Newark being yielded, no work was left for them; but that as the King came to them of his own accord, unexpected, so he followed their Army, neither being arrested, nor forbidden by them; but they seemed to hasten their departure, by reason of a rumour, that Cromwell and all his Horse was marching toward them. This behaviour much offended the English Parliament, and they were divided both of the Scots and the King.

Evening May 1646. Gen. Fairfax with his whole Army, lay before Oxford; the City was very strong being fortified according to the exact Rules of Art to make it invulnerable, surrounded with regular Forts, and defended with a puissant Garrison of 5000 valiant soldiers, having great stores of Provisions, and the renowned Sir T. Glanham who had sufficiently demonstrated his Courage & conduct in holding out York and Carlisle



Gallies to the best extremity. The General, sending his Quarters round the City, summoned the Governor to surrender, who returned, "That he would send to know the terms offered, and act accordingly." The answer was not satisfactory, yet satisfied his Commanders, doubting it would be a tedious Siege were put to troops by some Siege, that it could not hold out long, by Reason of the divisions between the Nobility and Soldiers, and still being for raising pay, and to obtain favourable conditions, which they accordingly, and the Parliament desired, "That the Besieged should have the best conditions, rather than wall their Army, which might be more useful elsewhere; for they designed to find them in Ireland against the Rebels there."

Thus was Oxford surrendered, and the Garrison marched out in sight of Parliament's Army, with great quiet and modesty on both sides; the Duke of York was immediately conducted to London, where two of the King's Children remained, thither went also all Noblemen; neither were any of the Besieged sent to go to London, but the Prince Rupert and Maurice, who being commanded to go out of England, prepared for their departure. Charles about this time left from Seilly with a few of his inward Counsellors, Jersey, in order to go to his Mother in France, who the King having advice of, sent him the short Letter from Newcastle.

Charles, I write to you only that you should know where I am, and that I am in health, so direct you at this time, in any thing for which I would have you do. I have already written to Mother, to whom I would have you send all things, except Religion, (about which I know I will not trouble you) and go on whether you like or my command. Write plain to me, I bless you.

Your loving Father C. R.

After the surrender of Oxford, followed the end of the first war, for Worcester, Wallingford, Penkridge and Ingham, yielded to the Victor: Peace now seemed to be restored to England, but the Parliament had no security, being grievously troubled with factions among themselves, under the names of Presbyterians and Independents; not only in matters of Church Government, but even in their Votes, and in transacting almost all other business; and this humour spread itself into the City, Country and Camp; and the Parliament doubling Coll. Mordaunt's Forces, sent money upon that account, sent Fairfax to disband them, being 4,000 Horse, which was quickly done within a few days time, though they did not such receive their pay.

The Scots carrying the King into the North, the Parliament voted, That the Person of the King should be disposed of by the Authority of both Houses of the Parliament of England: That the Scots should be delivered up, according to that he was his self King of England and Scotland, which caused great contention between the two Nations. But at length upon paying the Scots 200,000 pounds, they agreed to deliver up Berwick, Carlisle and Newcastle, and the King Person also to the English Commissioners, who was received with great respect and honour by the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, and the other Commissioners, and waited on with much observance and as honourable Guard as his Palace at Holmby in Northamptonshire.

The Civil War being ended, a dissention more than Civil arose among the Conquerors and extremely imbittered the minds of men against each other, one Party complaining, That the Covenant was broken: The other, That it was not rightly interpreted by them. And on both sides were men of Reputation; and several Petitions were drawn up against the Army (chiefly so much admired) as maintainers of the Independent Party, who then lay about Salter-

Walden in Essex. Yea, it was debated in Parliament whether they should be disbanded or not, which Cromwel who sided with the Independents, having notice of, he with Irons insinuated into the Soldiers, That the Parliament intended to disband them without their Assent, or else to send them into Ireland to dye of the sickness and Famine, which caused the Soldiers to rise in commotion. Searcht against the two Houses; a Council was set up, consisting of a Commission-Officers, and two private Soldiers out of every Regiment, to meet and consult for the good of the Army, and to draw up and present all their Grievances to the General, and these were called Adjutors; who having met by the Instigation of Cromwel and some others, that made them sensible of their own strength they resolved upon seizing the King at Holmby-House, under pretence of freeing him from the narrow restraint under which he was kept by the Parliaments Order. To effect which, Corner Joyce is sent thither with 500 Horse, who took the King out of the Parliaments Commissioners hands, and carried him along with them in the Army. This the General certifies in a Letter to the Parliament, affirming it to be done without his consent; and that the reason alledged by the Adjutors was, Because certain Persons had designed to take away his Majesty, thereby to gather strength to make a new War, which they were ready to prove.

When this was known, an Order passed both Houses of Parliament; and was sent to the General; 1. That the King should reside at Richmond. 2. That he should be attended by the same persons he was at Holmby. 3. That Rodneys Regiment should Guard him. The Presbiterians who were the greater number in Parliament, being further alarmed by these proceedings, resolved to divide the Army, and send part of it to Ireland, and presently to Callier Cromwel and his Adjutors; So they publish a declaration, forbidding the Soldiers to petition the Par-

ment is being under their command: Likewise they had privately resolved to seize upon Cromwel, then in London, who having notice of it, got secretly and hastily out of Town, and with full speed rid to Tripoly Heath, so that his Horse was all in a foam, and was received with the acclamations of the whole Army, to whom he discovered the intentions of the Parliament: whereupon they entered into an engagement, not to disband till the Proposals they had drawn up for regulating all matters were answered, and marching to New-Market, they subscribed thereto, Cromwel putting his Name first, and the rest of the Officers generally followed, so that several Parchment Rolls were filled with their Names. The next day was brought from the General, and his Council of Officers, an Impeachment of eleven Members of the House of Commons, who were counted the chief of the Presbyterian party: namely, Sir W. Waller, Coll. Massey, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Den. Hollis, Coll. Lang, Mr. Ant. Nicholas, Sir Ph. Stapleton, Mr. Glyn, Sir John Maynard, Sir Will. Lewis, and Coll. Ed. Hailey, charging them with hindring the relief of Ireland, obstructing of Justice, and acting against the Army and Laws of England. The Members declared themselves ready to answer, but the Army would have them secluded from their seats in Parliament till they had brought in their answer: So they withdrew by consent for six months: After which the Army marched nearer London, and came to Bedford, the King going to the Earl of Bedfords House near Woburn.

And now some Citizens being for the Presbyterian party in the House, and the Independents for the Army, great divisions happened in London, for the Parliament having chang'd the Militia of the City, which had been established the 4th of May, and put others belonging to the Army in their rooms, the Presbyterian party were extremely incensed, and two days after a multitude of Citizens and Apprentices, coming to

the door of the Commons, cried out, That they must  
grant their Petition before they rise. The House  
beginning to rise, they took the Speaker, and held  
him in the Chair, detaining him and the rest of the  
Members, till they forced an Order from them, That  
the King should come to London. After which they  
adjourned to July 30. but then both Speakers were  
absent, having withdrawn themselves in the Army;  
so even new Speakers were chosen, the Lord Mordaunt,  
and Mr. Henry Bellam, Barrister, by whom the fol-  
lowing Orders were made that day. 1. That the  
King should come to London. 2. That the Mil-  
lions of London should have power to raise Forces for  
the defence of the City. 3. They should have power to  
choose a General for those Forces, and that the eleven  
Impeached Members should return to their seats.  
The Citizens armed with these Orders, proceeded to  
raise Forces, choosing Massey their General.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons which  
had left London, consulting with the General and  
chief Commanders of the Army, made an Order  
That all Acts and Decrees that had passed on July  
25. and since, should be accounted null and void;  
and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the  
General and Council of the Army. It was likewise  
decreed, That the General with his Army should  
march to London. Upon whose approach the Citizens  
who made some semblance of opposition, meeting in  
Common Council, and finding it impossible suddenly  
to raise Forces to oppose them, they sent to the General  
for a Pacification, which by the consent of the  
Members of Parliament was granted them on these  
conditions: 1. That they should desert the Parliament;  
2. That they should bring, and the eleven Impeached Members  
bring, 13. To seal their late Declaration, 14. And  
acknowledge their present Alliance. 5. To deliver up to the  
General all their Forts, and the Town of London their  
Arms. 6. To disband all the Forces they had raised.  
All which, notwithstanding, were instantly refused. And

## Oliver Cromwel.

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On Aug. 6. 1647, the Army marched triumphantly through London to Westminster, with the two Speakers, and the Members of Parliament, whom they restored to their former Seats, and the eleven secluded Members left London, some going beyond Sea, and others with Passes to their Houses in the Country. Both Speakers in the Name of the whole Parliament, gave thanks to the General, and made him Commander of all the Forces in England and Wales, and Constable of the Tower of London; a months pay was likewise given to the Army for a gratuity. The next day Fairfax, Cromwel, Skippon, and the other Commanders, marched from Westminster through London to the Tower, where some Commands, and the Militia, were altered; and to curb the City, her Militia was divided, Westminster and Southwark having power to command their own trained Bands. And thus was the Presbyterian party depressed, and all things managed by the Independents and the Army. After this Fairfax marched out of London, quartering his Soldiers in the Town and Villages adjacent, only leaving some Regiments about White Hall and the Menife to guard the Parliament, his head Quarters being at Putney; and the King about the middle of August, after divers removes, was brought to Hampton Court, where he seemed not at all restrained, but lived like a Prince in all the splendor of a Court, all sorts of People being freely admitted to kiss his hand and wait upon him; yea, his servants from beyond Sea even those who had been voted Delinquents, as Ashburnham, Barkley, and the rest, were permitted by the Army to have safe recourse to him, which was generally wondered at. About this time a disturbance arose in the Army by a party called Levellers, some of whom were seized at Ware and some of the principal leaders shot to death, others imprisoned, and their Favourers cashiered, no being discarded out of the Troop.

And now Propositions were sent to the King at Hampton-

Hampton court, agreed upon by both Houses; But the King refused to comply with them, for London and Lanerick newly come out of Scotland, having privately discoursed with the King, sent Letters to the Parliament, requiring, That the King may come to London, and there personally to treat with the Parliament about the matters in controversy: Though not long before they denied it to be just, that before the King had given satisfaction and security to the people he should be admitted to London, or to any personal treaty with the Parliament, and refused to receive him into Scotland, lest he might raise commotions there; but they alledged in their defense, That the King was taken from Holmby against his will, and without consent of Parliament, and still remained under the power of an Army, not in the freedom proper for treating of matters of so great concernment: But while the Parliament were framing Propositions, they were surprized with the News that the King was secretly withdrawn from Hampton Court Letters coming from Cromwel about midnight to the Speaker thereof: For Nov. 12. whilst the Commissioners of Parliament, and Coll. Whaley, who commanded the Guard, expected when the King would come out of his Chamber to supper, and wondred at his long stay, at last, about nine a clock, some going in, notified the King, finding his Cloak, and a Letter written with his own hand to the Commissioners to be communicated to the Parliament, wherein having discoursed about Captivity and the sweetness of Liberty he protested before God, 'He did not withdraw to disturb the publick Peace, but for his safety: against which he understood there was a Treasonable Conspiracy, &c. and that if he might be heard with freedom, honour and safety, he should instantly break through this cloud of retirement, and shew himself the Father of his Country.

There was a report at that time, (saith a late Author) and yet continues, that Cromwel privately cre



ted with the King; whereby it was proposed, That if he closed with the Propositions of the Army, Cromwel should be made Earl of Essex, and Knight of the Garter, with a considerable Estate, or else advanced to an higher degree than any other, that is Vicar General of England, or the like, as his Ancestor Cromwel was by Hen. 8. But the King being Uxorious, would do nothing without the Queens advice, who disliking the proposal, he being the principal Enemy to their Family, she King sent her word, That tho' he consented to the Armys Proposals to procure Peace; yet it would be easier to take on Cromwel when only a Peer of England, than now he was General and in the head of an Army. These Letters being intercepted by Cromwel, he resolved never to trust the King again, yet doubting he could not manage his designs so near the Parliament and City as Hampton Court, he privately sent the King word, he was in no safety there, by reason of the hatred the Anglians had to him, and that he would be no more security in the Isle of Wight. Hereupon the King Nov. 21. 1647. while the Parliament and Scots Commissioners, were debating the Kings answer to their propositions, at night made his escape.

The Parliament started at his departure, sent some Persons to the Sea Coasts, to prevent his going beyond Sea; and when it was reported he was concealed in London, Ordered, That if any man should 'closely detain this Kings Person, he should be punished with loss of Estate and Life. But this cloud soon dissolved, Letters coming from Coll. Hammond Governour of the Isle of Wight, that the King was come thither and had delivered himself into his protection, and that he would dispose of him as the Parliament should appoint, who commending Hammond, ordered, that he should Guard the King with diligence and wait on him with respect and honour, and that all necessaries should be sent him.

The K. sent from thence a long Letter to the Parliament



lament, wherein he desired to come to a Personal Treaty and Peace, which was also vehemently pressed by the Scots Commissioners: So when King James Nov. 26. they drew up four propositions in the Town of Ains, to be signed by the King in the life of Wright and then he should be admitted to a Personal Treaty, which were, 1. To pass an Act for sealing the Militia of the Kingdom. 2. An Act for calling in all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations, against the Parliament and their Adherents. 3. For suspending those Lords who were made after the Great Seal was carried to Oxford, from sitting in the House of Peers thereby. A power to be given to the two Houses to adjourn as they shall think fit. The Commissioners of Scotland declared against these Bills, however Dec. 24. they were presented to the King, who understanding the mind of the Scots, and the Factions in London, absolutely refused to sign them. Which refusal was sharply declared in the House, and it was affirmed That the King by his denial had denied his protection to the People of England, for which only satisfaction is due to him: So Jan. 17. a Declaration and Votes passed both Houses of Parliament, That they will make no further Address to the King, nor any other way to make application to him, without their leave, under penalty of high Treason: That they will receive no more Messages from him, or both or either House of Parliament, or any other person. This was recorded by a Declaration of the General and Officers of the Army, which was presented to the House, and checks returned them for their Resolutions to adhere to the Parliament, in their proceedings concerning the King: and against him or any other that shall partake with him.

The Parliament likewise, by their Declaration, endeavoured to appease the minds of the People many being extremely discontented with these proceedings; & Tumults and Insurrections daily feared, so that the Parliament, though victorious, and guarded with a strong

ing Army, no Forces visibly appearing against them, yet were never in more danger, and every man began to foresee Slaughter and War, as Mariners observe a rising Tempest.

- The streaming Waves in Tracts voluminous
- Boil up: The Sea by blasts uncertain blown,
- Betoken many Winds conception.

The Kings party though conquered, had great hopes of retrieving their Cause, which seemed also the wish of many called Presbyterians, out of their strong aversion to the Independents; so that the King though set aside and confined within the Isle of Wight, was more formidable this Summer than before, when he was followed by his strongest Armies. The Name of a King had a mighty operation, and the pity of the vulgar gave a greater Majesty to his person: Prince Charles also by his absence, and the Name of Banishment, was more desired of them, and by his Commissions, privately sent from his Father, and Commands under his Name, he was able to raise not only Tumults but Wars.

The Parliament for their security Quartered part of the Army about Westminster, the Menage, and other places of the City, and some Lords and Commons were chosen and called a Committee of Safety, and sat at Derby-house, with power to suppress Tumults and Insurrections, and to raise Forces upon occasion; which were the Earls of Northumberland, Kent, Warwick and Manchester, the Lords Say, Wharton and Roberts, and 13 of the H. of Commons, among whom was Gen. Cromwell. And it was not long ere they had occasion to make use of their Authority, for upon Sunday April 9. 1648. some Apprentices and other loose people playing in Moor-fields, upon a Company of the Trained Bands, and with stones beat the Captain out of the Fields taking away his Colours, with which they marched in the head of a disorderly Rout, increasing

Increasing continually by the way to Westminster, crying out, They were for King Charles; but by a Troop of Horse from the Meuse were soon dispersed; yet running back into the City, and others joining them, they remained all Night in a Body, to the great terror of the Citizens; so that the Lord Mayor, who was for the Parliament, escaped privately out of his House and went to the Tower. In the morning, Fairfax sent part of his Army into the City, who drove them into Leaden-Hall, taking some Prisoners, and scattered the rest, so this Tumult was suppressed, for which service he had the thanks of the Parliament, and some principal Citizens, and 1000 pound gratuity to his Soldiers.

May 26. about 300 came out of Surry to Westminster, with a Petition to the Parliament, demanding, That the King should be restored to his former Dignity, and come to Westminster with honour, freedom and safety, to treat personally there about all Controversies: That the Army should presently be disbanded, and the free People be governed by their known Laws and Statutes. These Petitioners were so earnest for an answer, that they would not stay till the Parliament could debate it, but set upon the Soldiers that guarded the House; of whom, some they hurt, and killed one. Whereupon some Horse and Foot were sent from the Meuse, who gave them a feeling answer, killing some, and scattering the rest, so that they were utterly vanquished. At the same time, the Round-heads were coming with a Petition, and a formidable Army to back it, being enraged at the death of their Companions, who raised a Tumult at Canterbury; to prevent their arrival General Fairfax was sent with seven Regiments to Blackheath. In the mean time some small insurrections happened in Suffolk, at Stamford, and in Cornwall, but were suppressed by Coll. Wall, Sir Hardress Waller, and others. Sir Thomas Glemham had seized upon Carlisle, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale upon Berwick, and

fortified it, and the Royalists had taken the strong Castle of Poitiers. To manage these Wars in the North, Col. Lambert was left with some Regiments of Fairfax's Army; but the most formidable danger seemed to be in Wales, where Poyer, Powell and Langhorn, three Parliament Colonels, had raised an Army of 8000 men, by a Commission from P. Charles; but Col. Horton with 3000 engaged them near Peberstone, and totally routed their whole Army. A great slaughter was made, and 3000 taken Prisoners, equal to the number of Victories, among whom were 110 Officers, many Colours, a great quantity of Arms, with all their Cannon. Langhorn and Powell escaped with Poyer into Pembroke-Castle. Cromwell himself was about the beginning of May sent into Wales with some Regiments, who coming to Chepstow-Castle, resolved to besiege it, but hastening to Pembroke, he left Col. Ewer at Chepstow, who in 15 days took that Castle, and killed Kemish, to whom the Governour had treacherously surrendered it.

May 20. Cromwell came to Pembroke, of which Col. Poyer was Commander, who relying on the great strength of the place, refused all conditions being sensible that time was very precious with the Parliament, who were surrounded with so many difficulties abroad, but Cromwell, to whom despair was a stranger prepared for the Siege, being much facilitated in his work from Sea, by the Industry of Sir G. Ayscough who furnished him, by the Assistance of a Squadron of Ships, with great Guns and Provisions of all sorts from Bristol. Having taken a Survey of the strength of the Castle, he resolves to batter it with his Cannon, because he had notice their Powder and Provisions would soon be spent, and that the divisions among them might occasion them to yield, and save his men of whom he was very careful, since so much work lay upon their hands: so he strictly guarded the Trenches to prevent them from coming out, which had the effect he expected, Hunger if not breaking through stone

some Walls, and demanding them to deliver up the Town and Castle, the Soldiers upon quarter, but Langhorn, Poyer, Powell, and some others upon mercy which the rest found, but Poyer was shot to death.

While Cromwel was acting in Wales, Fairfax with his Regiments marched from Black-Hearth toward Rochester, and about Gravelend a great number were got together, and among them 40 Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of the County, with several of the Kings old Commanders; but they durst not engage Fairfax, though more numerous, some marching to Maidstone, a few to Rochester, others to Dover, to besiege that Castle, but were soon removed by Coll. Rich and Sir Mich. Livesey. About 3000 were got to Maidstone, and resolved to defend it, which they did with such obstinacy, that the valour of Fairfax and his Soldiers, was never tryed so much before, nor a Victory got with greater danger; for after they had broken into the Town with much difficulty, they found a War in every street, and Cannon placed against them, so that they were forced to fight for every corner of it, but at length with the loss of 40 men, it was taken, 200 of the Royalists being slain, and 200 Horse and 2000 Arms taken: At the same time another Army of many thousand Kentish-men, coming from Rochester to aid their Friends, when they came near, durst not assist them, but stood and saw Fairfax take the Town. Kent seemed now quiet, when the Lord Goring with the remains of the Kentish-men, being about 2000 march as far as Greenwich, sending to see how the Citizens stood affected, but while he staid, expecting an answer, some Troops of the Army came in sight upon which Goring and his company fled, the Horsemen took some Booty, and the Kentish-men went home, but the L. Goring with 300 Horse, coming to Greenwich got Boats and passed over into Essex, & the L. Capel with Forces out of Hertfordshire, and Sir Ch. Lucas with a Body of Horse, joined him at Chelmsford, with several of the Kings Soldiers, & many

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Lambert, who fled to them, and being driven crossing the Thames at Gravesend, and at length drove him into Colchester, where after near three months Siege, being reduced to the extremity as to live several weeks upon Horse flesh, despairing of relief, they at length yielded themselves Prisoners, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, being first to death.

Afterwards Cromwell marched Northward, to prevent the Scots from Scotland, from whence Duke Hamilton was marching with a potent Army. Lambert was ordered to suppress Glamham and Llangdale, who with their Forces being about 2000 retired into Cumberland and Westmorland, and joining with the Scots, fell upon Lambert at Appleby, forcing him to retire out of the Town. Cromwell having received all necessary supplies from the Parliament, came and joined him, and observed the motions of D. Hamilton, being both but Scots men, against the Scots and English Army of 2000, who were marched into England from Preston in Lancashire, where Cromwell resolved to fight them, his Forces marching thither first with 200 Horse and 400 Foot, and he himself leading up the main body in the best posture the place would admit, being a dirty lake, and inconvenient for Horse, where after four hours dispute he put them to the rout, whom the Confederates pursued through Preston, and having cleared the Street, followed them as far as Warrington, about 20 miles, killing many in the chase, and taking Lieut. Gen. Early Prisoner, with great part of the Scots Army, granting them only Quarter for their Lives. Three thousand Scots were slain, and 10000 taken prisoners, with above 100 Colours and all their Baggage. Duke Hamilton finding the Service too warm, returned over the Bridge with a good party of Horse and Foot, but Cromwell ordered his men to fall in among them pell-mell, with their Swords drawn, at which desperate courage the Scots being amazed, betook themselves to flight, and the

the Duke with a Body of Horse got to Hamerton, where he was taken Prisoner by the Lord Grey, and 300 Horse with him; Langdale was also taken by a Parliament Captain.

Conspiracies by Land, though over the whole Kingdom, seemed not enough, but the Scots who revolted from the Parliament, divers of the chief Ships in the Royal Navy, in June 1648, set the Vice Admiral Bainsborough adrift, declaring they would serve the King and P. Charles, now coming from Holland with twenty sail of Ships and two thousand men. The Parliament Vice Admiral joined with them, the D. of York, who had made his escape from London, being also aboard. At which the Parliament dissolved sent to the E. of Warwick to command the remaining Navy, which he readily undertook; but his Brothers, though no soldier, by Commission from the Prince, assembled 300 Horse and Foot about Kingston Beach, depending on the affections of the Citizens, having with him the D. of Buckingham, his Brother, J. Francis Villiers and the E. of Pemborough, but Sir Mich. Livsey, and others, soon dispersed them. The L. Francis Villiers was slain, and the L. Holland flying with the remainder of his Horse to St. Needs, was subdued, Dalboer, and some other Gentlemen slain, and himself taken prisoner. At the same time Rollier obtained a Victory over 1000 Horse, who were pillaging the Country out of Pomfret Castle.

In August 1648, Warwick was with a good Fleet in the River of Thames, when P. Charles with 20 stout Men of War came up the River, and commanded him to take down his Flag, and yield Obedience to him as chief Admiral by the Kings Commission. Warwick refused, yet declined fighting in that narrow Channel, expecting to be joined by the Portsmouth Fleet, commanded by Sir G. Alcock, which the Royalists reported was revolted also; but the most of the Mariners were inclined to the Prince, yet Sir George by his prudent managery confirmed them in their

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obedience to the Parliament, and sailing by P. Charles in the Night, brought all his Ships safe to the E. of Warwick, who now resolved to engage the Prince but finding he was gone back to Holland for want of Provisions, he followed him with the whole Fleet to Gorée upon the Coast.

Cromwel, after he had given that great defeat to Hamilton, following his Victory, marches toward Scotland to assist Argile and Levens, against the Forces of Monroe and Lanerick, and to give them an account what was become of Hamilton; but upon his approach, they withdraw their Forces back into Scotland, and Cromwel in his way reduced Berwick and Carlisle. Before he entered Scotland, he Rendezvouz'd his Army on the Banks of the Tweed, and caused Proclamation to be made at the head of every Regiment, That no man upon pain of death, should take from the Scots either Cattle or Goods, without Order. He then marches directly toward Edensburgh to consult about the affairs of both Kingdoms; many of the Scots Nobility and Gentry were sent from the Committee of Estates to meet him, who after congratulatory Oration, conducted him to Edensburgh, where Argile, Levens and other Lords, treated him and the rest of the English Commanders, with a magnificent banquet in the Castle. Thanks were given by the Ministers to Cromwel, who was by them styled, The preserver of Scotland under God; many of these having denounced the wrath of God against that Army of Hamilton, which by the success they now thought fulfill'd. Such also was the Testimony of the Committee of Estates, written to the English Parliament concerning Cromwel. Presently after the Forces of Monroe and Lanerick were disbanded, and all others, except 1500 Horse and Foot under the command of Leven, for settling the Kingdom. It was also decreed by the Committee of Estates, and Assembly of the Kirk, for preservation of Religion, and brotherly love with the English Nation, That no man who had joined with Hamilton in the late invasion

of England, should be chosen for the new Parliament which was then called, or also the Assembly of the Kirk, as being Enemies to Religion, and both to the Kingdom.

A strange and sudden alteration this was, that the English Army, which but a year before were by the Kirk party of Scotland, called a bundle of Scoundrels and reviled by all manner of opprobrious names, should be acknowledged by the same Scots to be the Instruments of God, and Vindicators both of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland. And this great change in the Council of Scotland, had been more to be wondered at, if the change that then happened in the English Parliament were not much more surprising, for who can imagine that Cromwel for vanquishing a Scotch Army, by which the Nation was delivered from plunder, and many other mischiefs, should be acknowledged there for the preserver of Scotland; and that the same Victory of his against the Scots, should please the Presbyterian Scots for Religion sake; and for Religion sake displease the Presbyterians in England. For the face of the English Parliament was now suddenly changed, and the Votes that had passed the year before of making no more Addresses to the King were annulled, and they had published a Declaration of the reason of their proceeding. New addresses were made to the King, with more submission than ever before, the eleven impeached Members were restored to their seats, and the Houses debated of treating with the King upon his own security personally at London, with honour, freedom and safety. But this was not carried; only a Treaty was Voted to be in the Isle of Wight, and that the King should choose the place in that Island. In pursuance whereof, the H. of Middlesex and 3 of the H. of Commons, were sent to the King, who answered, That he was very ready to treat of Peace: Upon which five Peers and ten Commons were chosen and sent to Newport. During this Treaty, the King found all

showing a kind of respect and observance from the Commissioners of the Army, being attended with a Royal Escort, the D. of both the Richmond, Marquess of Hartford, the Earl of Southampton, and Lindley, with a number of other Gentlemen of Quality waiting in his Train, his own Chaplains, and divers of his Lawyers, to advise him in the Treaty, being likewise allowed him.

While these things were transacting at Westminster, Cromwell having finished matters in Scotland Oct. 16. left Edinburgh, being conducted some miles by Maria Argle, and other Scotch Noblemen, who took their leave with mutual demonstrations of kindness, and marching toward Carlisle, when he came into Yorkshire, he was desired by the Committee to reduce the Castles of Scarborough and Pomfret in his way; the last of which was defended by Col. John Mordaunt, not by the strength of the Place, but the valour of the Defenders: The Garrison consisted of 400 Foot, and 120 Horse, all daring Fellows, who daily performed some notable exploit by their valour, at one time by seizing Sir Arthur Ingram with a Troop of Horse, and obliging him to pay 1500 pounds to obtain his liberty. Soon after they took Captain Clayton, and most of his Troop, and brought into the Castle 200 head of Cattle, and many Horses, tho' Sir Hen. Cholmely at that time beleaguered it to keep them in. One morning before day 40 Horse sallied out, and speeding to Doncaster, where Col. Rainborough, who had a Commission to command in the Siege in chief, then Quartered, three of them went into the Town, and inquired for Col. Rainborough's Quarters, to which being directed they pretending to deliver him Letters from Cromwell: the Colonel little suspecting the business, opened the door to receive the Letters, when one of them instantly stabbed him to the heart, and though his Forces guarded the Town, yet they got back into the Castle at mid-day. To reduce this place, Cromwell having loosed the Northern Counties, orders the Siege to be strengthened, leaving

a strong party under Lambert, to prevent their being abused, and in the while it was surrendered.

Cromwel marches up to London and takes his place in Parliament, who in his absence had recalled their Vote of No Address, and were treating with the King at Newport: But while this Treaty proceeded, and some months were spent in Debates, Contentions and Denials, another sudden alteration happened, which threw the King from the height of honour to the lowest condition. For some fearing they might be in danger if the King were restored to his Throne, contrived to take him away quite, while others were as earnest for re-advancing him, so that that thing was brought to no issue before Cromwel's return, who had now the thanks of the House given him by the Speaker, for his prudent conduct of affairs in Scotland. At the same time several Petitions were presented to the Parliament, and some against General Fairfax. The whereof had offended against the Common-wealth, no persons excepted, might be brought to speedy Justice; that the same fault may have the same punishment in the person of King or Lord, as in the person of the poorest Commoner. That such as speak or act on the King's behalf, shall be accounted of shedding innocent blood, be proceeded against as Traitors, &c.

The first Petition of this kind was presented to the Parliament Sept. 11. the Title was, 'To the most Honourable the Commons of England assembled in Parliament. The Humble Petition of many thousands of well affected men in the Cities of London and Westminster, in the Burrough of Southwark, and the neighbouring Villages Inhabitants. This Petition which broke the ice, was in a Month followed by several others, from divers Counties in England, and from several Regiments of the Army, in Oxford and Leicester, from many Commanders in the Army, from Iteron and Ingolfsow Regiments, the design of all being the same, That Justice might be

be done on the chief Authors of so much Blood-  
shed in England, and that those who had been rail-  
lers of this second War, and were now in the Par-  
liament's custody, Hammond, Holland, Capel, Gon-  
ring, and the rest, might be punish'd, and especi-  
ally the King himself, &c. These Petitions were  
daily presented in the Parliament during the Treaty,  
and by them laid aside; but at last their desires pre-  
valled, especially after the Remonstrance of Fairfax,  
Cromwell, and the General Council of Officers at St.  
Albans, of Nov. 11. 1648.

At the same time Cromwell sent Col. Ewer to the  
Isle of Wight, to take the King out of the Custody of  
Col. Hammond at Newport, and to confine him to  
Hurst Castle till further Order, and this without  
consent of the Parliament; and thus the Treaty was  
violently broken off, though the House of Lords  
the Voice, That the House of Commons were a suffici-  
ent ground of Peace, and the major part of the  
Commons did the same. Col. Ewer and the  
Army being now in London, resolve to han-  
dle the same, and discharge the Trained Bands  
from guarding the Parliament, Colonel Prides  
and Riches Regiments supplying their rooms, by  
whom above forty Members of the House of COM-  
MONS, as they were coming to the House, were  
seized and made Prisoners. Nay further they accuse  
Major General Browd, and above Ninety Members,  
for Inviting the SCOTIS into England the last  
Summer, and therefore desired that they might be  
excluded the House, which being done, and the  
House new modelled, they voted, "That no Message  
be received from the King upon pain of High Treas-  
on: That Fairfax and the Army take care of the  
KING, and that the Council of War draw up  
a Charge against him. Dec. 13. 1648. The King  
was brought from Hurst Castle to Windsor, and  
the House of Commons declare the Oaths of Supre-  
macy and Allegiance to be void, and that it is Treason  
for



for the King to levy War against the Common weal.  
But the Lords deny that the King can commit  
Treason against the Common weal, and reject  
Ordinance for his Tryal by a new Tribunal, which  
they had erected to consist of 120 Commissioners,  
whereof were of the Lords House, the rest Officers  
the Army, and some lay Clergy. And the Com-  
mons further declare, "That the People under Go-  
" are the original of all just power, and that the Com-  
" mons of England being the Peoples Representatives  
" have the Supreme Authority, and what they En-  
" has the force of a Law, tho' the House of Lords  
" not consent thereto. Upon these, and several other  
new Political Principles, they proceed to Try, Judge,  
Condemn and execute the King before his own Pal-  
laced at Whitehall, Jan 30. 1649.

## Oliver Cromwell.

But having already published a Book, called, *The Wars of England, Scotland and Ireland*, wherein is an exact account of the Kings Trial, with the Reason he would have offered against the pretended Jurisdiction of their Court of Justice, and his last Speech at the time of his suffering, I shall refer the Reader to that and wholly omit it here.

The fatal blow being given, the remainder of the House of Commons and the Army made it evident, that they were not only for cutting off the King, but Kinging it false and thereupon the House voted, That Kingly Government is unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous, and that whereas several precedents might be made to the Crown, that any person who should proclaim Charles Stewart, Son of the late King, or any other, King of England, should suffer as in case of High Treason. And soon after the House of Lords was likewise Voted useless and dangerous, at which the Lords were so highly incensed, that a Declaration was published in the Name of all the Peers and Barons of England against the proceedings of the Commons. And in defiance of all Votes, Acts and Orders to the contrary, Charles the Second was proclaimed King, in the Name of all the Nobility, Gentry and Commonality of the Kingdom; But they still proceed, assuming new Emblems of Sovereignty, and cancelling the old, causing all new Writs, Commissions, &c. to issue out under a new Style and Title, that is, The Keepers of the Liberties of England by the Authority of Parliament; causing the old great Seal to be broken, and a new one made with this inscription, In the first year of freedom, by Gods blessing restored. And soon after they pulled down the Kings Arms in all places, and his Statue at Guild-Hall, and the Royal Exchange. A Council of State was constituted, of forty, and Bradshaw made President; and the Council of Admirators of the Army, who had been so instrumental in the late Revolution, was now dissolved, who soon after petitioned the Lord Fairfax, but those



did that subscribed Insects by a Council of War, ordered to ride with their faces to the Horse's Tail before their Regiment, with their Crimes on their breasts, to have their Swords broken over their heads, and to be cashier'd the Army, which provoked their fellow Souldiers, so that a while after, the Army Rendezvousing at Ware, several Regiments, in pursuance of the former Petition (wherein they complain of erecting Illegal Courts of Justice, and Trying the Free People of England by Martial Law, with divers other Grievances) wore white colours in their Banners, to distinguish themselves, among whom was Cromwell's own Regiment of Horse, who having notice of it, ordered two other Regiments from Remote Quarters to be there who knew nothing of the Intreague, and being all drawn up in Battle, Cromwell with a frowning Countenance rode round, and suddenly commands those two Regiments to surround a Regiment of Foot, and then calls four men by their Names out of the Body, and with his own hands put them in custody of the Marshal, instantly summoning a Council of War, while their adherents secretly put their white Colours in their pockets, and were astonish'd at the action: These four were tryed and found guilty, but had the favour to cast lots for their lives, whereby the two principal Mutineers escaped, and the two ignorant Fellows were shot to death upon the place in the view of the whole Army. Thence now had the name of Levellers given them, and one Lockier for promoting a Paper, called: The Engagement and Agreement of the People, &c. was shot in to death in St. Pauls Church yard, and his Funeral was attended by above 2000 of the Liberal Faction, all wearing black and Sea green Ribbons. The Army was now in violent ferment, and even ready to destroy one another, which humour was cherished by John Lilburn, not without encouragement from the Royal Party, who from their divisions hoped to reap advantage.

In pursuance hereof Coll. Scroops Regiment of Horse dismissed their Officers at Salisbury, and with Colours flying marched to join Harrisons, Iretons, and Skippons Regiments, who by the contrivance of the Agitators were all engaged in the same designs. This defection seeming of dangerous consequence, Gen. Fairfax and Cromwel with his own Regiment marched to Alton, and had advice the Mutineers were gone to Abington, after whom Cromwel made such haste, that in one day he marched forty miles, and having met with them, he politely proposed a Treaty before Harrisons Regiment should join them, wherein all parties should receive satisfaction, and that either of them should keep at ten miles distance; upon which the Levellers went to Burford, and being opposed by the Souldiery at New-bridge, to prevent Quarrels they went a little lower, not doubting but they should all join upon Treaty, and so put most of their horses to grass, being in all 900, consisting of twelve of the best Troops in the Army, and leaving a guard of 60 men; some of their Companions, who were brought over to Cromwel, giving Intelligence of their posture, Coll. Reynolds about midnight rushed into their Quarters, they little expecting such rough treatment, and seizing the Guards, took the rest either asleep or drinkings, with 900 Horse and 400 Prisoners whereof Thompson and two more were executed, the former Don declaring such sorrow that he was reprieved at the place of execution, which their Fellows withheld from the Lends of the Church, and were told, that every tenth man of them should die, but Cromwel proposed the pardoning them, which was agreed, and they sent to their own homes. This proved utter suppression of this Faction, and rendered the Army wholly devoted to Cromwel.

About this time another illegal High-Court of Justice was erected, wherein D. Hamilton, the B. of Higham, L. Capel, and L. Goring, were brought to their trial, the three first were condemned and beheaded.

at the Palace-yard in Westminster, and a Proclamation was published, declaring the People of England to be a Free State; Alderman Reynoldson was commanded to proclaim it in the City; which he refusing, was committed to the Tower, and a new Lord Mayor chosen by a Common-Hall; who attended with several other Aldermen of the same temper, readily proclaimed the Edicts of this new Republick in several places in the City,

England being thus subjected to the power the of House of Commons and the Army, and Scotland not yet ripe for Invasion, and the Nation full of Souldiers who having long led a Military life, could hardly be reduced to their former Employments: Our new Statesmen to prevent ill humours; resolved to make them serve their Country in the reduction of Ireland; all that Kingdom, except Dublin and London derry, being in possession of the Irish, & they unable to hold out without speedy assistance from England. This Rebellion the most barbarous and bloody that ever happened, acted by Devils in humane shape, rather than men, butchering 200000 Protestants in 8 weeks space without the least provocation given, or without sparing Age or Sex, was perpetrated Oct. 23. 1641. and tho contrived so secretly, and acted so furiously, yet was Dublin wonderfully preserved to be a refuge for those poor Protestants who escaped the rage of these bloody persecutors. Many of them fled to England but found little relief, for here all things seemed to forebode the re-acting the same Tragedy, yet in the midst of the differences between the King and Parliament, it was agreed to send some Regiments thither if possible, to hinder the progress of those Assassines but this relief was so small that it had no effect, the King finding the Parliament prevail against him recalled those Troops from Ireland, many of the Rebels coming along with them to his assistance so that this Kingdom lay more exposed to these bloody Wolves than ever.

Wolves than ever, and thus they continued for some years.

But this new State having renounced Monarchy and Episcopacy, resolve now to recover Ireland, and send an Army thither. The Marquess of Ormond was made L. Lieutenant by the late King, and the Rebels had made a Confederacy among themselves, and upon condition to have the free Exercise of their Religion and other ample priviledges, which the necessity of affairs obliged him to yield to, they joined their Forces to his, being also assisted by a number of others, raised by the Earls of Castlehaven, Clanrickard, and the Lord Inchequin, so that they were the greatest united strength in that Kingdom. But the Confederates having broken their Articles with the Lieutenant, and being ready to besiege Dublin, which he was not able to defend, rather than it should fall into the hands of the Irish Papists, he surrendered it to Coll. Jones for the Parliament, and came over to the King. (who was then carried from one place to another by the Army,) and from thence he went over to Charles then at Paris. The Confederates surprized the great preparations from England, sent Letters to the Prince, to send back the Marquess of Ormond, with an absolute promise to the King, to obey his Lieutenant. At their request he returned into Ireland, about a year before Cromwel came over, and with their united Forces they had reduced the whole Country, except London-derry, commanded by Sir John Coote, and Dublin the principal City, wherein Coll. Jones with no great strength, and who was doubtful of the fidelity of his own men that often declared to the other party.

The Irish Confederates with 22000 Men, lay under the very Walls of Dublin, and sent divers threatening Letters requiring a speedy surrender, but they had no effect upon the valiant Governour Jones; who yet not sensible of his great danger, sent many earnest Messages to the Parliament of England to aid him with all

speed, with Men and Ammunition, or else all would be lost; who knowing the difficulties of his condition, hasten their assistance, sending thither Iretons, Scroops, Horrons and Lamberts Regiments of Horse; with Hewsons, Deans, Ewers and Cooks Regiments of Foot, and five Troops of Dragoon, all old tried Soldiers, that feared no Enemy, and led by Victorious Commanders; with some other Regiments new listed sufficient to effect the business. Nothing was now wanting but a General to command this gallant Army, and the Parliament being sensible of Cromwells conduct desired him to accept it, which he readily did, declaring, 'That he did not doubt but God would use him as an Instrument to execute his vengeance upon the bloody Irish; with which answer the Parliament were so pleased, that they give him a Commission to be General of all their Forces, and Lord Governour both of the Civil and Military affairs in Ireland, and Coll. Jones was made Licut. General of the Horse. After which they march to Milford in Wales, and July 10. 1649. Cromwel set forward from London in a Coach and six Horses, attended with many of the House of Commons, Council of State and principal Officers of the Army, with a Life guard of 80 who had been lately Commanders, gallantly accompanied. In this state he marched to Brainford, where these Gentlemen took their leaves, wishing him happy success; From thence he rides post to Bristol to put his men and Artillery into the Transport-ships, and then goes into Wales, having sent Reynolds Regiment of Horse, and Venables, and Monks Regiment of Foot, before from Chester, who arrived at Dublin to the great Joy of the Inhabitants, being about 3000 in all, who were careful to recover them from the terrors of the Sea, in hopes by their means to recover their Liberties.

And in this they were not mistaken, for Coll. Jones much animated with these Recruits, resolved to attack the Besiegers, and Aug. 2. when the Irish, with

first

strong party of Horse and Foot, marched with much assurance to Baggot-field, Eastward from the City toward the Sea, from whence to run their Trenches towards the Works of the City, to prevent the landing any more supplies from England. The besieged to prevent them, with 1200 Horse and 4000 Foot, fell upon the Enemies new Works, and routed their Horse at the first encounter, most of the Foot being also either kill'd or wounded, consisting of 1500, which so encouraged the English, that they pursued their Victory to Rathmines, where the Marquess of Ormond with his whole Army of 19000 men were Incamped, who hearing of it, wished they would come, that he might have some sport with them, he soon had his wish, but the sport was somewhat rude, for in a short time his Army was utterly routed, 4000 being slain upon the spot, and in the pursuit; & 2517 prisoners taken, most persons of Quality, with the Marquesses own brother, all their Cannon and Ammunition, with a wealthy Camp, became the reward of the conquering Soldiers, who made themselves Gentlemen with the spoils of the vanquished; not above twenty of the English being slain in this great action. The Marquess perceiving all was lost, fled with a considerable party to Kilkenny, and thence to Drogheda, whither Colonel Jones with some horse marched with all speed, in hopes that the News of this defeat might cause them to surrender; but when he heard that Ormond with 400 Horse, was come to reinforce it, he went back, while the Marquess fortified Dundalk, Trim, and some other places near Tredagh, hoping to preserve them by the strength of his Troops, and to have his Army ready before Cromwells arrival: But having Intelligence of this great Victory, being then at Milford Haven in Wales, instantly sailed thence with the Van of his Army in 32 Transport Ships, and followed with the main Body in 42 more, Hugh Peters with 20 sail following them, who all soon arrived at Dublin, and were received with all joy and satisfaction.



on, especially the new Lord Governour Cromwel, whom the People crouded to behold, who observing their zeal and kindnes, putting off his Hat, spoke to them to this effect, ' That as God had brought him thither in safety, so he doubted not but by divine assistance, to restore them to all their just Rights, Liberties and properties, and that all those whose hearts and affections were real for carrying on that great work against the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish and their Confederates, and that were for propagating the Gospel of Christ, the establishing of Truth and Peace, and restoring this bleeding Nation to its former happiness and tranquillity, should find favour and protection from the Parliament of England and himself, and receive such gratuities as were suitable to their merits. This speech was received with the acclamations of the People, many of whom declared, That they would live and dye with him.

The Army being all landed and refreshed, Cromwel publishes a Proclamation against Swearing, Cursing, and Drunkenness, under severe penalties, and having settled matters in Dublin, he musters his Army which then consisted of 15000 Horse and Foot well accoutred, out of whom he made a Detachment of about 10000 with whom and a fine Train of Artillery he marches to Drogheda, commanded by Sir Arthur Ashton, formerly Governour of Reading and Oxford, an expert and valiant Souldier, the Garrison consisting in 300 Horse and Foot, most English. After summing the Town, which was slighred, Cromwel prepares to Besiege it, Sir G. Ayscough and his Squadron blocking it up by Sea; the white Flag was taken down, the Red denouncing blood and destruction, being display'd in its stead, which yet did not much discourage the Besieged, who expecting relief from Ormond, had absolutely determined to conquer, or dye, so Cromwel without making Trenches or Ditchs raised a strong battery of Cannon against



which beat down a Church Steeple, and a Tower, on the South side of the Town, and upon throwing two or three hundred Balls more, the corner Tower between the South-East Wall was levelled, and such a Breach made, that three Regiments of Foot entred, it not being large enough for the Horse; but met with such furious opposition from the Besieged, that they forced them back faster than they came on; which Cromwel observing from the Battery, he with a fresh supply of Coll. Ewers Foot, enters in Person into the Town; whose presence so encouraged the Souldiers that nothing was able to stand before them, so that having secured the Town, to revenge their late repulse, they cut off all they met with, yet Ashrons Souldiers desperately opposed them at every corner, and when not able to defend the streets, retreated to the Church Steeples, and other securities, but the Assailants pursued them with the utmost rage, and with Gun-powder blew up 100 of them who were got into St. Peters Steeple, only one escaping, who by the fall broke his Leg, and had Quarter given him. Others refusing to yield upon Summons, were kept from Victuals till forced to surrender; most of the Officers with every tenth Souldier, was put to the sword, and the rest sent to Barbadoes, Sir Ar. Ashron was slain, Cromwel by these severe executions designed to terrifie other places from making opposition, which had such effect, that in a short time he wholly Conquered the Kingdom. And thus was this strong Garrison reduced and plundered in seven days which the Irish were three years in taking.

Dundalk and Trim expecting no better Quarter, the Souldiers deserted them with such precipitation, that they left all their Cannon behind, fixed upon their Carriages; and the English revolted so fast to the Conqueror, that Ormonds Forces increased very fast, so that he durst not ingage Cromwel, but endeavoured to hinder them from having provisions upon which, the General resolved to march West-

ward, and assault Wexford, putting a Garrison into Killinkerrick near Dublin, which had been deserted by the Enemy; with Arkloe Castle, one of the seats of the Family of Ormond, and several other places which surrendered to him; at length he came before Wexford, and summoned it, but the Governour Coll. Synnot politely treated about Terms, till he was re-inforced with 500 Foot, under the Earl of Castlehaven, and then seem'd to defy any attack. Cromwel plants a battery against a Castle at the end of the Town, and had not plaid long upon it, before the Governour surrenders. The Souldiers having possession, and shewing themselves to the Town, affrighted them from the Walls, which they perceiving, in an instant scaled the Walls without much resistance, and entering the Town, cut off all in Arms till they came to the Market place, where the Enemy made a stand, but at length were subdued, and in Arms put to the Sword.

This Sea port being taken, which was convenient for supplies, the Victors march to Rosi, another Sea Town, considerable for strength and trade, on the River Barrow, where a ship of 7 or 800 Tun might ride by the Wall; the Lords of Ormond, Castlehaven and Ards were there in person, having brought 1500 men in Boats, to re-inforce it, in fight of the English, who could not prevent it: Cromwel summons the Governour M. General Taaff to a rendition by assuring him, 'That since his coming into Ireland he ever avoided the effusion of blood, having been before no place where he did not first offer terms; Terms as might have preserved them, and he required him to surrender the Town to the Parliament of England. He received no return till a Battery of 6 or 7 great Cannon playing furiously on the Town mollified the Governour, so that to prevent the danger other places had incurred, he delivered it, 1500 marching away with Bag and Baggage to Kilkenny, but 600 being English, joined with Cromwel.

At which time Bandon-bridge, Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, and other Garrisons, declared for the Parliament and in the North Sir Eth. Coote, and Coll. Venables; and L. Broghill, and Coll. Hewison in other parts, succeeded as well.

Cromwel having taken Ross, by a Bridge of Boats over the River, marched to Besiege Dunganon, a strong Fort commanded by Coll. Wogan, but having little hope of reducing it quickly, they rise and march to Kilkenny; where the Marquess of Ormond and L. Inchiquin declared they would fight, being much stronger than Cromwel, yet upon his approach retreated without action; So Ennistoge and Carrick were taken without loss of a man, and the General marched to Waterford (taking Passage Fort by the way) hoping to reduce it before Winter, but it being December and very wet, the Souldiers were put into Winter Quarters till spring. During which, the Irish attempted to regain Passage Fort by a Party from Waterford, but Coll. Zankey put them to the rout, killing many, and making 350 Prisoners. At this time Lieut. Gen. Jones dyed of a Fever at Dunganon, and tho' it were Winter, yet Cromwel visited all the Garrisons in Munster, and received great recruits from England, many of his Souldiers and Officers dying by sickness. He put a new Mayor into Kinsale, the former being an Irish Papist. In February, Cromwel marches with 3000 of his men out of Youghal to enlarge their Quarters, and takes in Kilkenny Castle near Lymrick, with Clonen house and Rogil castle and fording the River Teme with much danger, comes to Feathered, where one Butler was Governor of the Garrison, and about ten at Night summons him by a Trumpet, which was disregarded at first, but fearing a storm it was surrendered upon condition they should march out with their Arms. From hence, after being refreshed, they march to Callyne, about six miles off Kilkenny, which had three Castles in the Town, and were storm'd and taken one after ano-

ther, and all in Arms put to the Sword, which so affrighted them that defended a house near the Town, that they desired liberty to go to Kilkenny, which was granted. The Souldiers well furnished with provisions here, returned in Feathered; taking the Castles of Knockover and Ballyward by the way, Kiltermon, Arfermon, Cober, and Drundum, places of good strength, running the same fate; so there remained nothing unconquered but Kilkenny, Galloway, Clonmell, Waterford and Limerick.

These were places of considerable strength, but Cromwel resolves to attack Kilkenny first, and having sent for more Forces, came to the Town of Gorao, populous and fortified with a strong Castle, but the Governour refusing his Summons, was forced to surrender upon hard Terms, the Souldiers to have their Lives, and the Officers to be at discretion: Hammond the Governour, his Major and all the other Commission Officers, were shot to death, and the Popish Chaplain hanged. Cromwel next proceeds to Kilkenny, which was full of Officers and Souldiers from other places, and the Governour Sir Walt. Butler refusing to surrender, the Lord Governour caused the Cannon to play, which had not thrown 100 shot e're a breach was made, and Coll. Ewers with 1000 Foot, tho' at first repulsed, gained the Irish Town, and the Suburbs on the other side the River, which caused the Governour to Treat, since he could not hope for relief; and the Garrison in Cauncel Castle, to whom he had sent to assist him, desired passes to go beyond Sea: so the Capitulation was quickly finished, and that considerable City of Kilkenny, which had been the seat of the supream Council, was reduced in six days time.

The Marquess of Ormond, and other chief Commanders, observing the unsuccessfulness of their design, consulted with the Gentlemen of Westmeath at Baltemore, how to manage affairs better; some were for an accommodation with the English, but others doubting

ing whether they might obtain pardon on good terms was concluded to do the greatest mischief that they could; to the English in their Quarters, untill they could have an opportunity to escape out of the Country.

Cromwel after this Besieges Clonmel, a strong Garrison, wherein were 120 Horse and Foot: During which, Coll. Reynolds and Hewson, Besiege Trim, and the Lord Broghill defeats the Bishop of Ross, who with 5000 designed to relieve Clonmel, killing 700 taking 20 Officers, and the Bishop himself, with the Standard of the Church of Munster, and carrying him to a Castle defended by the Bishops Forces, hanged him before the Walls in their sight, which so terrified them that they surrendered. These successes encouraged the Besiegers of Clonmel, wherein were many gallant Souldiers and Commanders, and great unanimity, but Cromwel battering it with his Cannon, opened a breach whereat the Souldiers enter, yet were repulsed with the utmost fury, so that the success was doubtful for four hours, and a great carnage made, till the Irish are forced to betake themselves to flight, whom the victorious Souldiers pursued with revengeful minds, and made a dreadful slaughter. Thus was this considerable place reduced, tho' with greater loss than ordinary to the English, wherein they found the stoutest Enemy they ever met in Ireland.

Cromwel having in ten months performed more than any Prince before was able to do in ten years, in subduing an obstinate bloody Enemy that dispaing of pardon, fought with the greatest animosity; and there now remaining unreduced only Limerick, Waterford, and some few inconsiderable Garrisons, to which service Ireton was appointed, whom the Lord Governour made Lord Deputy: He takes his leave of Ireland, and after a stormy passage lands at Bristol, where he was received with acclamations, and the discharging of the Cannon, and hastens thence to London, being



being met at Hounslow by Gen. Fairfax, several Members of Parliament, and Officers of the Army, with multitudes of Spectators, who came to see him, and to offer mutual congratulations he proceeds, and is saluted near Hyde-Park with some field-pieces, and Volleys of small shot, by Coll. Barkheads Regiment, drawn up in the High-way for that purpose, and after conducted to the Cock-pit near St. James's, prepared for his reception, where he is visited by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and other persons of Quality, all expressing the sense of their obligations. Soon after he took his place in Parliament, and received the thanks of the House from the Speaker, and then gave them a full account of the present condition of Ireland.

At this time Virginia and the Caribbee Islands, revolt from the Parliament, and cry up the Monarchy and Liturgy, who thereupon prohibit all Nations to Trade with them, and in a few months they are wholly subdued by a Fleet sent thither under Sir G. Aylcough. Pr. Rupert infests the English Coasts from Scilly, Jersey, Ireland, and France, with the States revolted Ships, to the great loss of the Merchants, till a Fleet well equipt is set forth against him, who blocks him up in Kinsale, which being taken by Cromwell, they were forced to hasten away, leaving three Ships behind, and sailed to Lisbon, being protected by the King of Portugal, which caused a difference between that King & this Republick. May 3. 1642, Dr. Dorislaus, who drew up the charge against R. Charles I. being sent Envoy to the States of Holland, was murdered at the Hague by Persons in disguise that broke into his Lodgings, and afterward made their escape. And Mr. Ant. Alcam, the English Agent in Spain, was stabbed in his Inn, in his way to Madrid, and the murderer taking sanctuary in a Church, the K. of Spain by all his Authority, could not bring them to Justice.

But the greatest danger to this new Commonwealth, the victorious in Ireland, seemed to be from Scotland, for King Charles II. being in the Isle of Jersey, and having notice of the great Factions and differences in that Kingdom, between the Covenanters and the Royalists, he gives a Commission to the Marquess of Montrose (who in 1645. was so successful that the whole Kingdom of Scotland may be said to have been won and lost in one month) by which Commission he was to raise Forces in Holland, and other parts, to abate the power of the Covenanters, so that the King might be able to treat with them upon better terms. He in a short time sends some Forces into the Isles of Orkney and others under Sir James Montgomery, to the North of Scotland. These the Committee of Estates resolve to oppose, tho' raised for the Kings service, and send propositions to Jersey, which being granted they enter into a Treaty to restore him to that Kingdom; the substance whereof was, That he would sign the solemn League and Covenant, and oblige all persons to take it: To confirm all Acts of Parliament in the two last Sessions, to have no Negative voice in their Parliament, and to appoint some place about Holland to treat in. The King promised in the word of a Prince, to perform them, and Breda, a Town in Holland, belonging to the Br. of Orange, was the place appointed, where the Scots Commissioners meet him, and the Treaty in a short time was fully concluded, wherein one Article was, That the Marquess of Montrose, and his Adherents, be prohibited access into that Kingdom. During this Treaty, Montrose being Commissioned by the King, fearing he should have an express command to desert, and he dismissed his Country, landed at Orkney, and in the North, with supplies of men and money; against whom the Parliament, then sitting, send an Army of 6000 Foot, and three Troops of Horse, who defeat his Forces, being 1200, of whom 200 were slain, and the rest taken except 100, who escaped, Montrose being



being three or four days in the open Fields without meat or drink, with only one man, discovered himself to the L. Aston; but the promised reward, or fear of concealing him, caused this Lord to send him to Edinburgh, where he was condemned and hanged upon a Gallows thirty foot high, and Sir John Urrey, Sir Fr. Hay, Coll. Sybald, and Coll. Spotswood, were beheaded, the last confessing he was an actor in the death of Dr. Dorislaus. The King was startled at these proceedings, but the Scots Commissioners assured him they were all designed to promote his Interest; so finding it could not be redressed, he was forced to conceal his resentments, and the Treaty being finished, the King prepared for his Voyage to Scotland.

The Parliament of England having Intelligence of these proceedings, it was debated whether the War which was inevitable between them, should be Offensive or Defensive; at length, being sensible what desolations they brought along with them when they came in as Friends, and then as Enemies in D. Hamiltons Invasion, it was concluded to make Scotland the seat of War, so they Order the Army to march Northward; but Gen. Fairfax and others being dissatisfied about the obligation of the National Covenant between both Kingdoms, which he conceived would not permit us to War on Scotland, desired to be excused, and deliver up his Commission, which was at first a little startling, but the Parliament soon found another General, of whose valour and conduct they had large experience, which was Cromwel, who accepted the Charge, and had a Commission to be General of all the Forces that now were or hereafter should be raised by the Common wealth of England, and all the Commissions formerly granted to Sir Thos. Fairfax were made void.

June 28. 1650. Cromwel with his Army marched toward Scotland, and was received at York by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen with great respect: The

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report of his coming, surprized the Committee of Estates, who sent a Letter to the Parliament, 'That they admired the English should advance toward them, and that many of their Ships were seized contrary to the Act of Pacification, which allowed three months warning, and that the Forces they had raised, were only in their own defence, desiring to know whether those of the English were designed to Guard their own Borders, or to invade Scotland. The Parliament by their Declaration, shew the reasons of their proceedings, and among others, 'That the Scots endeavour to seduce the people of the Common wealth of England from their affection and duty to the Parliament, and to promote the Interest of the late King under pretence of the Covenant, and though they could claim no authority or dominion over us, yet in Scotland they proclaimed Charles Stewart to be King of England and Ireland, and promised to assist him against the Commonwealth; and had declared against the English Parliament and Army, ranking them with Malignants and Papists. These with many others, were such intollerable provocations, and no satisfaction being to be had but by the Sword, the Parliament resolve to vindicate the Nations honour, and to secure it from the like Inconveniences for the future.

The Army likewise publish a Declaration, wherein taking notice of the practices of some in that Kingdom, who endeavoured by unjust reproaches and false slanders, to make the Army odious, and render them rather Monsters than Men, they to clear themselves, desire them to remember what their behaviour was when they were there before, or what wrong or injury was then done either to the Persons, Goods, or Houses of any, and therefore they had no reason by false reports to affright the people from their Habitations: Further assuring all persons who were not active against the Parliament, that

they should not have the least injury done them, either in Body or Goods, but upon complaint should have present redress, and that they might securely continue in their Habitations.

Copies of these Declarations were given to the Country People at Berwick-market, and others sent into Scotland, which had good effect. After which Cromwel marches from York to North Allerton, and thence to Newcastle, where he was nobly treated by Sir Arthur Hasting the Governor, and after imploring the blessing of Heaven, and having provided for future supplies, he posts to Berwick, and July 10. 1650. Rendezvouzed his Army upon Hagerstone Moor, four miles from thence; where appeared a gallant Body of 5415 Horse with valliant Riders, 1024 Foot, with a Train of Artillery consisting of 690. In all 16345. After which they were quartered on the banks of the River Tweed.

In England John Lilburn about this time was tried at Guild hall, a man of a restless and invincible spirit, who is charged with publishing Books, wherein the Parliament are termed Tyrants, Traytors, Conquering Usurpers, &c. and though it was generally thought they were of his writing and publishing, yet he made such a subtle defence, that the Jury brought him in not Guilty. Coll. Eusebius Andrews being found with a Commission from King Charles II. was condemned by an High Court of Justice, and beheaded at Tower hill. And Benson, condemned with him, was executed at Tyburn. At the same time an Insurrection happened in Norfolk, an undisciplined Company roving about, pretending they designed the abolishing Popery, the restoring the young King to his Crown, to revenge his Fathers death, and to suppress Heresie and Schism: but 200 Horse being sent from Lyn, and three Troops from the Army, soon dispersed them, 20 of whom of no eminency were hanged. Sir Henry Hyde being sent Ambassador from King Charles to the Grand Seignor at Constantinople, had

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some contest with Sir Tho. Bendish the Parliaments Ambassadors there, so they had a hearing before the Vizier Bassa, and the result was, That Sir Tho. Bendish should dispose of Sir H. Hyde as he thought fit, who sent him to Smyrna and thence to England, where he was condemned and beheaded before the Royal Exchange in London.

P. Rupert and his Fleet lying in the Haven of Lisbon, Blake came before the City with the Parliaments Fleet, and having destroyed several French Privateers, and some rich Sugar ships of the K. of Portugal he was forced by storm to go to some other Port; upon which P. Rupert took the opportunity to sail thence with his Fleet to Malaga, where they burnt and spoil'd several Merchant Ships: Blake reduced his Fleet to seven stout nimble Sailors, sending the rest home with their Prizes, and sailed after him to Malaga, but they being gone to Alicanti, he followed them, taking in his way a French Ship of 20 Guns, the Roc buck a revolted ship, and the Black Prince another of P. Ruperts Fleet, to avoid being taken, ran ashore and blew her self up. Next day 4 more of the Princes Fleet ran ashore at Carthagena, and were cast away, the rest

rest making their escape, and so Blake returned again to England.

The Scots had now finish'd the Treaty with Charles, who promised to confirm the Presbyterian Government in Scotland for three years, provided that himself might always have three Chaplains of his own election: As also to confirm the Militia in the hands of the Estates for five years, provided it should then return to himself. It was now resolved a Message should be sent to invite him to his Kingdom of Scotland; this it was oppos'd in the Parliament at Edinburgh, and put to the Vote whether any more Addresses should be made to the King, and 32 were for the Negative, but the Affirmatives being the major part, the Message was sent with a protestation, 'That they would assist him with their Lives and Fortunes, to establish him in all his Dominions; yet forbore not to advertise him, they had Testimonies to produce of his transactings by Letter with Montros (of which they had intercepted three or four) contrary to his promise at Breda; however they were willing to dispense with him for what was pass'd, if he would according to the Articles of Agreement, come over into Scotland, and comply with the Parliament and the Kirk.

After which they prepared for his reception, but prohibited D. Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale and Seaforth, with many other persons of Quality, who had constantly attended him in Jersey and Holland, from returning into Scotland. In June, 1650. he left the Hague, and (after a tedious storm, and narrowly escaping some English ships,) landed in the North of Scotland, whither some Lords were sent to receive and accompany him to Edinburgh, being entertained by the way with the acclamations of the people. At Dundee, new propositions from the Parliament and Kirk were sent him, which with some seeming reluctance he signed. The Town of Aberdeen presented him with 1500 pounds, but the Committee of Estates

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sent to other places that designed to do the like enjoining them to bring whatever Money and Plate they had to bestow, into the Treasury which they would appoint.

While they were in expectation of the Kings arrival, the Committee of Estates and Parliament consulted about forming an Army for his service as they pretended and an Act was passed for Training every fourth man capable to bear Arms, throughout the Kingdom, and for raising 16000 Foot and 6000 Horse the Earl of Leven to be General of the Foot, Holborn Major General, David Leslie Lieut. General of the Horse, and Montgomery Major General, the Supreme Command being reserved for the King; who arriving at Edinburgh, was complemented with many Congratulations, and July 15. proclaimed King at the Cross, and had a strong Guard to attend him and observe his motions. We left Cromwel and his Army upon the edge of Scotland, who July 22. 1650. drew them forth to a Rendezvous upon an Hill within Berwick bounds, from whence they had a very exact view of the bordering parts of Scotland where they were to act their parts; to whom the General made a short Speech, exhorting them to be faithful and courageous, and then they need not doubt of the blessing of Heaven, and encouragement from himself: Which they received with shouts of approbation. After which he marches into Scotland, quartering in the Field that Night, near the Lord Mordingtons House, where proclamation was made, That none upon pain of death should offer any violence to the Persons or Goods of any in Scotland nor in Arms; and no Souldier should dare to straggle half a Mile from the Army without special Licence. From hence they marched directly to Dunbar, where they did receive some fresh Provisions from the Ships sent on purpose to supply them, the People having left their HABITATIONS and nothing behind them.

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Thence they came to Hadlington, 12 miles from Edinburgh, without opposition or sight of an enemy. Next day hearing the Scots would meet them at Gladsmuir, they endeavoured to possess the Moor before them, but no considerable party appeared, so M. Gen. Lambert, and Coll. Whaley, with 1400 Horse, were sent in a Van guard to Musselborough, to attempt something upon the Scots and Major Hains, commanding the Forlorn, faced them in less than a mile of their Trenches. Cromwel with the residue of the Army drew up before Edinburgh, and some skirmishes happened about possessing King Arthurs Hill, within a mile of the City, which the English gained, and likewise a Church, and other Houses; but the Scots not enduring the shock, that night the English withdrew and lay close encamped at Musselborough, being wearied with constant duty and continual rain. The Scots were within four miles, intrench'd within a Lye which flanked from Edinburgh to Leith, so strong that the English lay still that day in the rain without covert, but were encouraged with hope of a sudden Engagement. Next day the ground being wet, and provisions scarce, the English resolve to draw to their Quarters at Musselborough the Scots fell upon their Rear, and put them into disorder, but some bodies of English Horse coming up, beat them to their Trenches: Lambert in this encounter was run through the arm with a Lance, had his Horse killed under him, was wounded in his body, taken Prisoner, and rescued. The Scots had several killed, some of Note, and a Lieut. Collonel, a Major, and some Captains taken Prisoners. After which the English marched quietly to Musselborough that night, but so harassed with dirt, and watching, that they expected the Scots would fall upon them, which they did; for about four next morning 13 Troops of Horse, to the number of 1500 armed with Backs, Breasts, Head pieces, Pistols, Swords and Lances, commanded by Strathman, came on with such resolution that they

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beat in the Guards, and disordered a Regiment of Horse, but the English being alarm'd, fell upon them with such courage, that they routed, pursued, and did execution upon them till within a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh, taking and killing 200, with several Officers of Quality; Cromwel to discover his generosity, released the principal Prisoners, and sent them to Edinburgh in his own Coach, which rectified the opinions of many, who by reports were persuaded he was cruel.

The Army having again spent their Provisions, marched for a supply to Dunbar, where the Parliament Ships constantly attended them with all necessaries, and then returning to Edinburgh, they understood the Scots were keeping a solemn Thanksgiving for their deliverance, supposing they were quite gone and would have come no more, but were much disappointed. The General Assembly sent Cromwel, by David Lesly their General, a Declaration of the state of the Quarrel, which he desired might be published.

That considering there must be just grounds of Humbling from the Kings refusing to subscribe the Declaration concerning his former carriage, and resolutions for the future in reference to the Cause of God, the Enemies and Friends thereof, they do therefore declare, That the Kirk and Kingdom will not own any Malignant party, their Quarrel or Interest, but that they will fight upon their former principles, for the cause of God, and their Kingdom, and as they disclaim all the sin of the King and his House, so they will not own him nor his Interest, any further than he shall disclaim his and his Fathers opposition to the work of God, and the Enemies thereof; and that they would with convenient speed consider of the Papers sent them by Oliver Cromwel. To whom the English General returned this answer, 'That the Army continued the same they had profess themselves to the honest people of Scotland, wishing to them as to their own Souls, it being no part of their business

' business to hinder them in the worship of God ac-  
 ' cording to their Consciences : And that they should  
 ' be ready to perform what obligation lay upon them  
 ' by the Covenant, but that under the pretence of  
 ' the Covenant mistaken, a King should be taken in  
 ' by them and imposed on the English, and this  
 ' called, The Cause of God and of the Kingdom,  
 ' and this done for the satisfaction of Gods people  
 ' in both Nations, as alledged ; Together with a  
 ' disowning of Malignants, altho' the head of them  
 ' be received, who at this very instant hath a party  
 ' fighting in Ireland, and P. Rupert at Sea upon a ma-  
 ' lignant account ; the French and Irish ships daily  
 ' making Depredations upon the English Coasts,  
 ' and all by vertue of his Commissions ; therefore  
 ' they cannot believe that whilst Malignants were  
 ' fighting and plotting against them on the one side  
 ' and the Scots declaring for him on the other, it  
 ' it should not be the espousing a Malignant Interest  
 ' or Quarrel, but a meer fighting on former grounds  
 ' and principles. If the state of the Quarrel be thus,  
 ' and you resolve to fight the Army, you will have  
 ' opportunity to do that, else what means our abode  
 ' here : And our hope is in the Lord.

Having thus stated the cause of the War in disputa-  
 ring with the pen, they next resolve to try the force  
 of steel, and fight it out, for August was near done  
 and little action performed, save the taking of Colling-  
 ton House and Red hall by storm, and in it the Laird  
 Hamilton, Major Hamilton, and 60 Souldiers, 60 Bar-  
 rels of Powder, 100 Arms, great store of meal, malt,  
 Beer, Wine and other rich plunder. The Body of the  
 English Army removed from Pencland hills, till with-  
 in a mile of the whole Army of the Scots, and both  
 marched in sight of each other, a great Bog between  
 only hindring their Engagement, though the Cannon  
 plaid on both sides. Cromwel drew forth a Forlorn,  
 leading them on in person, and coming near their  
 Body, one that knew the General fired at him with a  
 Carbine, but timercously, which Cromwel observing,

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called out and told him, ' That if he had been one of his Souldiers, he would have cashiered him for firing at such a distance. This action of his was thought to have more of courage in it than discretion, The Scots unwilling to engage, returned to their Quarters. Next day, Aug. 28 the Cannon from the English Camp, laid hard upon the Scots, and greatly annoyed them, which could not provoke them to fight, but still kept within the protection of their Bog. The English being in want of provisions, marched to their old Quarters, at Pencland hills, and from thence, with much difficulty, to Muscledborough to recruit, and then drew off their Forces, quitted their Garrisons, and marched to Haddington. The Scots attending their right wing, fell into their Quarters with a resolute party, and were as valliantly repulsed by a Regiment of Foot commanded by Coll. Fairfax.

Sept. 1. The Scots being advantageously drawn up at the West end of the Town, the English drew Eastward into a fair Champaigne ground, fit for both Armies to engage in; but after several hours expectation of the Scots approach, finding they would not follow them, but only watched their advantage, they marched towards Dunbar; the Scots moved apace after them, and at a Pass attempted to fall upon the Reer, which the English perceiving, faced about to fight them. Whereupon the Scots drew off to the Hills, to hinder the English at the Pass at Copperspeith, which they effected, and then boasted they had the English in Essex's pound, as KING CHARLES the First had that General at great disadvantage in Cornwall, in 1644. This Pass being a place where ten stout men may obstruct the passage of forty, thereby to hinder them from any relief from Berwick, or perhaps to keep the English from running away; so confident were they of Victory, being largely reinforced with three Regiments, and from the Hills that encompassed this sickly Remnant, looked down on them as their sure prey.

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And indeed, the English were invironed with all manner of apparent dangers, their Forces were lessened, their Bodies weakened with Fluxes, wasted with Watchings, in want of drink, always troubled with wet and cold weather, and much impaired in point of courage, 2000 at least being disabled for present service, were sent to Berwick. On the other side the Scots were stout and hearty, in their own Country and upon advantageous ground, and double the English in number, they being 6000 Horse, and 16000 Foot, and the other but 7500 Foot, and 3500 Horse.

Cromwel and his Council of Officers, finding the Army unfit for further delays, resolved the next morning, Sept. 3. to force a passage through the Scots right Wing, or perish in the attempt, and being in Battallia by break a day, they fell unanimously upon the Enemy with Horse and Foot, who to hinder the English at Pass, drew up all the Horse upon their right Wing, and valliantly received the Onset. The word of the English was, The Lord of Hosts, that of the Scots, The Covenant. The English prest forward vigorously, and resolved to vanquish or dye. After one hours dispute the Scots were wholly routed, the Horse fled and left the Foot exposed to danger, who were most of them slain or taken Prisoners, the pursuit continuing eight miles from the Field of Battle. Of the Scots were slain 3000, and 10000 taken Prisoners, (many desperately wounded) among whom were 10 Collonels, 12 L. Collonels, 9 Majors, 47 Captains, 72 Lieutenants, 80 Ensigns, besides Cornets and Quarter-masters, with 200 Colours, 22 Cannon, several Field pieces, and 13000 Arms. Those of Quality taken were the L. Libberton and his Son, the L. Cromstown Sir J. Lindsdale L. Gen. of the Foot, and divers others; and the Purse to the Great Seal of Scotland. The Prisoners were so numerous, that it seemed as troublesome to keep as to take them, so the General discharged near 5000 most sick and wounded.

ed, the rest being about the same number, were conveyed to Berwick by 4 Troops of Coll. Hackers Horse. Gen. Lesley escaped to Edinburgh, by ten a Clock that morning the Fight happened, and carried the News of his own defeat to his Masters, which so daunted them, that Edinburgh was deserted by its Garrison, and Leith resolved to receive the Conquerors, because they could not keep them out.

Sept. 7. Four Regiments of Foot marched into Leith, where they found 37 Guns mounted, some Shot and Ammunition, with store of wealth. The same day Cromwel drew the rest of his Army, both Horse and Foot into Edinburgh, without any Loss, save the Arm of a Souldier taken off by a Cannon bullet from the Castle. After which the General sent a Trumpet to the Castle, to invite the Ministers to come and preach in their Churches, which they refusing the English supplied their places. He then caused a proclamation for Markets, and liberty of Trade in Edinburgh and Leith, to be proclaimed by Drum and Trumpet, and marched thence with his Army to Edinburgh, leaving Coll. Overton with his Brigade behind, and came within a mile of Sterling, from whence Cromwel sent a Letter to that Garrison, expressing the Armes constant affection and tenderness to the People of Scotland, which though hitherto infatuated, yet being so far advanced into their Country, desired them to consider of it, and deliver up that place to the Commonwealth of England. The Trumpeter that carried the Letter was met by a Gentleman on Foot, with a Pike in his hand, who told him, They would not let him come into the Town to receive his Letter. In the Afternoon came a Trumpeter from the Scots, desiring release of Prisoners; to which Cromwel answered, 'I'll at they come not thither to make Merchandize of men, or gain to themselves, but for the service and security of the Commonwealth of England. The same day Storm was designed upon Sterling, but it not being thought



though practicable, the Army marched back to Linlithgow, which they Fortified and made a Frontier Garrison, being in the heart of the Country; leaving there five Troops of Horse, and six Companies of Foot, and Cromwel with the rest returned to Edinburgh, where the General and Officers kept a Fast. The Kirk party also appointed a solemn Fast, 1. To humble themselves for their too much confidence in the Arm of flesh. 2. For the malignity and prophane-ness of their Army. 3. For the plandrings and wickedness of their Army when they were in England. 4. For their not sufficient purging their Army. 5. For their Commissioners unlawful and surreptitious manner of prosecuting the Treaty with the King, and their crooked ways in bringing him home. 6. For their not sufficient purging the Kings House. 7. For the just grounds they have that the Kings Repentance was not sound, nor from the heart.

Cromwel now took order for the effectual reducing of the Castle of Edinburgh, which the Scots counted Impregnable by Situation, having Garrison of 400 Souldiers, and all manner of Ammunition and Provisions, Coll. W. Dundas being Governor; But the General notwithstanding all former difficulties, imployed many Scots and English Miners who went so near the Works of the Castle, that they carried off one Scots Colours, 300 Muskets, and other Arms, without loss, though the Scots sent many great and small shot among them, so that the Fortification of Leith, and the Mining at Edinburgh went prosperously. O8ob. 2 The English searched the Grey Church at Edinburgh where they found one great Iron Gun, 100 new Muskets, 16 Barrell of Powder, 65 bundles of Bandiliers and Swords, 200 new Bayonets, 300 new Pikes, and a Load of Match.

How Calamitous now was the Condition of Scotland, that when an Enemy was in the very bowels of their Country, there should be such divisions among themselves, even to the destroying of each other.

for one party in the North was for the King without the Kirk; those with Middleton keep the Highlands. Another were for the Kirk against the King, whose Chiefs were Coll. Ker, Stranghan, and their Adherents in the West. A third party were for King and Kirk as David Lesley, Holbourn, and those of Fife; these were then at Sterling, and most considerable, having the Authority of the Committee of Estates, and General Assembly, to countenance them. All these had their Swords drawn against each other. Things being in this posture, Cromwel sends a Letter both to the Committee of Estates, and to Ker and Stranghan, declaring, 'What amicable ways they had hitherto used to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, which tho' it succeeded not, yet they should still endeavour the same; assuring them, their Arms were still stretched out to embrace them, when God should incline them to come in, and that they sought not domination, nor to enslave them, or depreis their Church-Government, nor sought their Goods or Estates, but to carry on the Lords work; which if they would still be blind and persist in gain-saying and opposing, then what further misery beset their Nation by Famine or Sword, would lye heavy on them.'

This Letter was sent by Coll. Whaley, who received an answer from Coll. Ker, inveighing severely against the proceedings of the Army, and 'That no Cessation or Treaty was to be made till the English were gone out of the Kingdom, which they had unjustly invaded: So there being no likelyhood of an accomodation, Major Brown with a Party of Horse took in a strong place named Dalhouse, and in it 50 Muskets, 50 Pikets, four Barrels of Powder, with store of Provisions, supposed to be the Magazine of the Moss Troopers (who killed divers English stragling for Provisions) some of whom were taken at Darlington Castle, seven miles from Edinburgh. Soon after Lambert with 2000 Horse marched toward



Dunfermlie; Coll. Ker being then about Pebles, and Whaley in his march toward the Enemy, took in Dalkeith Castle with a threatening Summons, wherein were store of Arms, Cannon, Powder, Match and Balls the Wall of it was 13 foot broad at the top: Lambert having with difficulty passed Hambleton River, next morning Ker resolved to surprize him, and attempted it with much courage; but the English being timely alarm'd, suddenly surrounded most of the Scots Horse, of whom they killed 100 and took 100 besides 400 Horse and Furniture deserted by their Riders, pursuing the rest to Ayre, Ker himself being taken Prisoner in the flight, with several other Officers. Coll. Straughan, Cap. Griffen, with some others of the Western party, came in to Lambert, who brought them to the Head Quarters at Edinburgh.

Cromwel observing the mining of Edinburgh Castle would be tedious, raises a Mount upon a rising ground, whereon to plant a Battery, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of the Besieged, and having mounted four Mortar-pieces and six battering Cannon upon it, he sent one Summons more to the Governour, That for preventing further mischief, he would surrender the place to him upon proper Conditions. The Governour answered, That he was intrusted by the Committee of Estates of Scotland to keep the Castle, and desired two days time to acquaint them with his condition; but this was denied. So the Cannon and Mortar began to play, and the Scots hung out a Flag of defiance against them, but they had not plaid long ere they took it in, so it was judged some great damage was done by four or five shells that fell among them, and put out a white Flag on the top of the Castle, and sent forth a Drummer, the Governour desiring once again leave to send to the Committee of Estates, which being again refused, two Commissioners of each side concluded a Treaty; agreeing, That the Castle of Edinburgh should be surrendered to his Excellency Gen. Cromwel, on December 24. 1650. with

all the Cannon, Arms, Magazines and Furniture of War: That the Governour with all the Officers and Souldiers, should march forth with their Arms, Colours flying, Drums beating, Matches lighted, and Bullet in mouth, to such place as they shall chose; that such Inhabitants as have any Goods in the Castle, shall have them restored.

There were taken in this strong Castle five French Cannon, five Dutch half Cannon, two Culverins, two demi-Culverins, two Minions, two Falcons, 28 brass Drakes, two Petards, 7000 Arms, and other provisions. It was admired that this strong Hold, the most impregnable in all Scotland, should so soon surrender, considering its situation and advantages, being built upon a high Rock or Precipice, having only one entrance, very steep and narrow, so that not above three can go a brest, commanding all places about it, insomuch that by the Cannon the English were often galled in their Quarters, though at a considerable distance. It was the Common discourse that it was assaulted with silver Engines, but whether Concessions, Cowardice or Treachery, were the cause, it was of very great Consequence and Advantage to Cromwel, and the further proceedings of his Army.

The sharpness of the Winter, in that Northern Climate, was so extream about this time, that the War seemed almost at a stand; and the Scots were employed in Crowning the King, who had been some time before at St. Johnstons, where he received the news of the loss of the Scots at Dunbar, and of the death of his Sister the Princess Elizabeth, who died about the same time at Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight. The Town of Scoon was appointed for his Coronation, where 150 Kings of that Nation had been Crowned before; So Jan. 1. 1651. the King with the Nobility, Barons and Burgesses, in their Robes removed thither, the whole Scotch Army standing all the way as a Guard from St. Johnstons thither. Having heard

the Sermon preached by Mr. Robert Dowglas; the King sitting upon a Scaffold erected in the Church took the Coronation Oath, and subscribed the National Covenant, and the solemn League and Covenant: After which he ascended upon a Stage a little higher, and sat down on the Throne, when the People being demanded four times by the King at Arms, 'Whether they were willing to accept of King Charles for their King, and become Subject to his Commands: They expressed their consent with loud acclamations, God save King Charles the Second. Then the Crown was set upon his head by the Marquess of Argyle, and the Nobility touching it with their right hands, swore Allegiance to him in these words, 'By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall support thee to the utmost. The People also holding up their hands, swore obedience according to the usual Oath. Then the King and Nobility departed in the same Pomp as they entred, and after a stately Dinner return'd to St. Johnston.

The Scots now consulted how to raise such an Army as might drive the English out of Scotland; so after they had Excommunicated Coll. Straughan, Smeaton, and others, who came in to the English, they gave out Commissions for raising more Forces, and many new Commanders were made, Middleton being Lieut. General of the Horse. After which David Lesley Lieut. General, with a party of 800 Horse, made an attempt upon Lichgow, where was Coll. Sanderford with a Regiment of Horse, who received them so warmly; that the Scots retreated without entering the Town. Cromwel being willing to gain all those Garrisons on the South of the Frith, ordered Coll. Fenwick, with 2 Regiments of Horse and Foot to reduce Home-Castle, who sent a summons to Tho. Cockburn the Governour, informing him, That Lieut. General Cromwel had ordered him to reduce that Castle, and that he should have good Terms, which would ease the adjacent Parts of a great Charge, expecting his an-

(over)

swer by 7 next morning. Cockburn returns this Answer, That he had received a Trumpeter of his without a Pass, to render Hume Castle to L. General Cromwel, that he never saw his General nor knew him, and that Hume Castle stood upon a Rock. Adding the following Verses.

I William of the Wastle,  
Am now in my Castle,  
And awe the Dogs in the Town,  
Shan't gar me gang down.

Yet this resolute and quibbling answer did not secure him, for when the English with their Cannon, and a Mortar piece had made a small breach, the Besieged beat a Parley, and having refused the conditions offered, were compelled now to surrender upon mercy, and the Governour and Garrison consisting of 78 Officers and Souldiers gang'd out of the Castle. Coll. Monk with three Regiments of Horse and Foot, laid Siege to Timplallon Castle, which had much molested the Country with their excursions, against which they play'd their Mortars 48 hours with success: They then batter'd it with six large Cannon, which did such notable execution that the Scots desired a Truce, and terms to march away, but none would be granted, only to have their lives saved, which was at last accepted, and the Castle yielded, with all the Guns, Arms, Ammunition and Provision therein; the taking this Castle was of great concern to the English, the passage from Edinburgh to Berwick being now almost clear. But for all the care that was used, the English were daily surprized and killed in small stragling parties, upon which Cromwel published this Proclamation:

‘ Finding that divers under my Command are not only daily spoil'd and robb'd, but barbarously and inhumanely slain, by a sort of Outlaws and Robbers not under the discipline of any Army, Sending that all our tenderness to the Country produceth no better effect than their compliance with, and pro-

tection

rection of such persons, and considering it is in the power of the Country to detect and discourage them, many being Inhabitants of those places where the Outrage is committed, and their motion is ordinarily by the invitation and intelligence given them by Country-men. I do therefore declare, That if any under my Command, shall be hereafter robbed or spoiled by such parties, I will require life for life, and plenary satisfaction for their Goods, of those Parishes and places where the Fact shall be committed, unless they discover the Offender. Given under my Hand at Edinburgh, Nov. 5. 1650.  
O. Cromwel.

In pursuance hereof several Sums of money were Levied upon such Parishes where any Robberies and Murders were committed, and all Abettors and Assistants were executed; Cromwel then marched from Edinburgh, and often attempted to pass over into Fife, but the season and difficult passage not permitting they retire to their Winter Quarters, and receive provisions from the English Fleet newly arrived at Leith, which was a great encouragement to the Soldiers in the midst of the hardships and diseases to which they were exposed, and the General had many violent fits of the contagious distemper of that Country, which brought him to the brink of the Grave, so that it was reported he was dead, to the great joy of the Scots, who were so pleased with the news, that they would hardly suffer themselves to be better informed; for a Scotch Trumpeter coming out of Fife to Edinburgh to Treat about restoring a Ship the English had taken near Burnt-Island; after he had delivered his Message, he confidently told the Soldiers their General was dead, and that they did well in concealing it, nor could be convinced, till the General ordered him to be brought into his presence, who was now somewhat recovered; so that upon his return this false rumour vanished. But the Parliament



ment, of England hearing that he had a Relapse and a violent Ague, they sent two eminent Physicians Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, to use their utmost Art with an Order that gave him liberty to repair into England for recovering his health: To which he made a return of thanks by a Letter to the L. President, from Edinburgh dated June 3. in which among others are these unusual expressions: "My Lord, my sickness was indeed so violent, that my Nature was not able to bear the weight thereof but the Lord was pleased to deliver me beyond expectation, and to give me cause to say once more, He hath plucked me out of the Grave. So that now by the goodness of God, I find my self growing to such a state of health and strength, as may yet, if it be his good will, render me useful, according to my poor ability, in the station wherein he hath set me. I wish more steadiness in your affairs here, than to depend in the least upon so frail a thing as I am; indeed they do not; nor do they own any instrument; this Cause is of God, and it must prosper. Oh, that all that have any hand therein being so perswaded, would gird up the Loins of their minds, and encourage you in all things to walk worthy of the Lord. So says, my Lord,

Your most humble Servant.

O. Cromwel.

At this time Ambassadors came to the Parliament of England; from Spain, Portugal and Holland; the last was reminded of delaying execution on the Affairs of the English Resident at Madrid. The second not having full power to give satisfaction for the expences of the State, and loss of the Merchants goods, by means of that King, was quickly dismissed. The Hollander kept at a distance, rather wishing PROSPERITY to the Royal party, than desiring peace with the Commonwealth of England: Soon after Oliver Sr. John and Walter Strickland were sent Ambassadors Extraordinary to the States, and received with great splendour, having Audience at the

Hague, the L. Ambassador St. John made a Learned and Elegant Speech, declaring, 'That they were sent over to the High and Mighty States of the Netherlands, from the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to make a firm League and Confederacy between the two Republicks, if they think fit, notwithstanding the many injuries the English have received from the Dutch Nation. Likewise to renew and confirm the former Treaties of Trade and Commerce, made between the two Nations, wherein he shewed the notable advantages of England, in respect of its commodious situation for advancement of Trade, and all other benefits. Lastly, That the Parliament highly resented the murder of Dr. Dornier their Agent, not doubting but they would do their utmost to discover the Authors thereof. After which the Ambassadors Gentlemen received several affronts from the Royal party there; the States published a Proclamation to prevent it; yet these abuses continued, no punishment being inflicted on any, tho' the common people often swarm'd about the Ambassadors Gates, and assaulted their Servants; and the States evaded any Treaty till they saw how matters would succeed in Scotland. The Parliament highly resenting these proceedings, recalled their Ambassadors, to the great surprize of the States, who endeavour'd by frequent visits to them, to insinuate their amicable Intentions, but the Ambassadors returned to England. And that which gave some jealousy to the Parliament of their designs, was because Admiral Van Trump with a Fleet of Ships, lay hovering upon the Coasts of Scilly, as if to attempt something against it, and the occasion of it being demanded, the States replied, 'They had no other intent but to demand the restitution of such Ships and Goods as the Pirates there had taken from their people. With which answer the Parliament were somewhat satisfied, yet to prevent the worst, April 18. 1641. Sir G. Ayscough, with a Squadron of Ships, designed for reducing the Caribbees



Islands, was sent thither, and landed 300 Seamen besides Souldiers, who soon became Masters of the Islands Tresco and Brieri, taking 150 prisoners, and killing 20. They took also two Frigats of 32 and 18 Guns, and secured the best Harbour belonging to those Islands. Hence the Enemy fled to St. Maries, their chief strength, which yet was surrendered. Corner Castle, in the Isle of Guernsey, was attempted, but thro' mis-information of the weakness of the place, the design miscarried with the loss of many Officers and Souldiers. About this time Brown Bushel an earnest stickler for the Royal party, both by Sea and Land, and who when in service of the Parliament had delivered up Scarborough to the King, was taken and behelded at Tower-hill.

The Parliament of Scotland adjourned during the Coronation of the King, and met again in March when some differences arose about restoring several Lords of the Royal party to their Seats in the House, which yet the Assembly would not admit of, till they had passed the Stool of Repentance; which Duke Hamilton did with some kind of splendor, having a Table placed before him with a black Velvet Cover, and a Cushion of the same, and making a great Feast that day. The King having now got some power, endeavoured to regain reputation among his Subjects, by putting all the Garrisons of Fife into a posture of defence against the landing of the English, drawing what Forces he could spare, both Horse and Foot, from Sterling, and joyning them with the new Leavies, which for better security, he Quartered on the Water-side, and then goes to the Highlands to compose all differences there, and to induce them to rise and joyn with him, from whence Middleton soon after brought a considerable body of Horse and Foot, and the Town of Dundee raised a Regiment of Horse at their own charge, and sent them with a stately Tent, and six fine brass Cannon, for a present to the King then at Sterling, whose Army

Army now consisted in 6000 Horse, and 15000 Foot, but the Earl of Eglington being sent into the West with some other Commanders, to raise more Force coming to Dunbarton, Coll. Lilburn, upon notice, sent a party of Horse, who seized the Earl, his Son Col. James Montgomery, Lieutenant Colonel Colborn, and some others, whom they carried Prisoners to Edinburgh.

It was now discovered that the English Covenanters intended a general rising in Lancashire to join with the Scots, the chief Agent being Thomas Cook of Grays Inn, Esq; who was taken and committed. And a Ship bound from the North of Scotland to the Isle of Man, being by Tempest driven into Ayre, was searcht, and many papers seized that gave light into the business. And a party of Horse and Dragoon marching to Grenock, seized Mr. Birkenhead, another Agent for the Royalists designs, about whom they found such Letters, Commissions and Instructions, as the whole intrigue was discovered, upon which Major Gen. Harrison was sent with a Detachment of Horse and Foot to Carlisle, to prevent Insurrections, or oppose the inroads of the Scots. At London several were taken up, viz. Mr. Christ. Love, Major Allford, Mr. Adams, Coll. Barton, Mr. Blackmore, Mr. Case, Mr. Cawton, Dr. Drake, Mr. Drake, Cap. Parr, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Haviland, M. Huntington, Mr. Jenkyns, Mr. Jequel, Mr. Jackson, L. Col. Jackson, Cap. Muffey, Mr. Walton, Cap. Potter, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Sterks, Coll. Sawton, Coll. Vaughan, and others; of all whom only Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons suffered being both beheaded on Tower-hill, Aug. 21. 1651. The rest among whom were 7 or 8 Ministers of London, upon their humble petitions were pardoned. There now happened an Insurrection of 300 in Wales, who declared for King Charles, upon a report that the English Army, under Cromwel, was defeated in Scotland, but they were soon suppressed.

Coll.

Coll. Monk was sent by Cromwel to Blackness, which had much annoyed their Quarters; After the Batteries were made, and some shot spent, they required Quarter, which was given, and the place surrendered. Yet the Scots grew formidable, and made many insults upon the our Quarters and Garrisons of the English with much success, by knowing the Country, so that several were slain; so Orders were given for contracting their Quarters, by slighting the remote Garrisons, and the Army was put into a marching posture for Fife, Blackness being made their Magazine; Capt. Butler at the same time arriving in the Success Frigate at Leith, with 80000 pounds for paying the Souldiers.

June 24. The Army being ready for a Campaign, march to Red-hall, and thence to Pencland-hill, where they incamped, and the General in his Tent treated the Lady Lambert, Gen. Deans, and other English Ladies and Gentlewomen, who came from Leith to view the Camp. The Army hearing the Scots were at Falkirk, marched to Lithgow, from whence they might see the Tents of the Scotch Army at Torwood, four miles on this side Sterling, and hoped to come to a Battel; but the King having drawn his Foot into Torwood, fortified his Camp, which with the River and Bags, prevented any assault, though Cromwel marched in sight of them, and stood from twelve to eight at night, expecting the Scots approach; but they only played on the English with their Cannon at a distance, so that the Army drew off to Glasgow, and thence to Hamilton; but not being able to engage them, he attack'd Kalender House, where part of their Forces were, which denying to yield upon summons, the Souldiers with Faggots passed over the More, and in half an hour possess'd the House, putting the Governor and 62 Souldiers to the sword in sight of the whole Scotch Army, who did not once stir to relieve their Friends.

Cromwel finding the Scots would protract the War, resolves once more to attempt the taking of Fife, to prevent them from having any further supplies: So there were drawn out 1600 Foot, and four Troops of Horse who under Coll. Overton were designed for this service; and being imbarqued in the 27 flat bottom'd boats sent from England, in the morning they landed at Queens-ferry, with the loss of 6 men, and intrencht themselves. While this was doing Cromwel with his Army, marched up close to the Scots, that if they had gone toward Fife, he might have engaged them before they could have reached Sterling. The Scots receiving the Alarm sent 4000 Horse and Foot under Sir John Brown, to force the English out of Fife; upon which, Cromwel sent Lambert with two Regiments of Horse, and two of Foot, to reinforce the other party, who in 24 hours were ferried over and joined. So Coll. Okey with his Regiment fell in among the Scots, whereby they were forced to draw up in Battalia, and so did the English who were superiour in number, but had the disadvantage of ground. In this posture they continued facing each other about an hour and half, when the English resolved to attack the Scots by ascending an Hill, and Lamberts right Wing falling furiously upon the Scots, Left, they endured the shock with much resolution, after a while the whole body engaging, in a short time the Scots were utterly routed, 2000 being slain, and 1400 taken prisoners, with their Commander Sir John Brown, Coll. Buchan, and many others of Quality. Of the English few were killed, but many wounded. Then other Detachments were sent over to Fife, to inable them to engage the whole Scots Army. The Strong Castle of Innesgarvey, situated on a Rock, in the midst of the Frych, between Queens-Ferry and North-Ferry, was surrendered to the English, the Garrison being so terrified, that they were content to march out only with their Swords to show what profession they were of, leaving all their Am-

munitions

munition and Provisions, with sixteen pieces of Cannon behind them.

July 27. The whole English Army appeared before Burnt Island, and the General summons it, to which the Governour returned a modest answer, and next day desired a Parley: Commissioners on both sides were chosen, and it was agreed, That all the Provisions, Guns, and Shipping of War, should be delivered to the English, all the Officers and Souldiers to march out with Drums beating, &c. Thence they marched to St. Johnstons, a place of great strength and importance, into which the King had lately put a Regiment of Foot, who made some difficulty, at first to surrender, but finding Cromwel had ordered the draining the Moat round about the Town, the courage of the Scots failed, so that they soon delivered it up.

The King finding his affairs in Scotland grow desperate, muster'd his Forces, being 16000 Horse and Foot, with these and hopes of further Supplies from his Friends he resolves to go for England; so the Scotch Army began their march from Sterling, July 30. 1651. and the sixth day after entered England by the way of Carlisle; which news coming to London, startled the Parliament, and Cromwel was a little surprized, who by staying to reduce St. Johnstons had suffered the Kings Army to get three days March before him, which he excuses in a Letter to the Parliament, since the Army acted to the best of their Judgements. Cromwel presently orders Lambert to march in the Rear of the Scots with 3000 Horse and Dragoons; Hasrison was to attack them, if possible, in the Van, and the General himself followed with 16 Regiments of Horse and Foot, leaving the prosecution of the War in Scotland to Lieut. General Monk with 7000 Horse and Foot, who took in the Town and Castle of Sterling, with Aberdeen, Aberdeethy, Dundee, Dronter Castle, Dunbarton Castle, and

and several others, so that all Scotland was subdued to the Republick of England.

The King, marched forward with his Army, being proclaimed in all Towns as he went along, and published a Declaration, promising pardon to all persons for all crimes, except Cromwel, Bradshaw and Cook. A Copy of the Declaration sent by the King, in a Letter to the L. Mayor and Aldermen of London, was by Order of Parliament burnt by the Hangman at the Royal Exchange. And at a Muster of the City Trained Bands in Bunhil fields, consisting of 14000 men. Lenthall, the Speaker of the House, came thither, and caused a Fellow with a Link to burn a Copy of the Declaration at the head of every Regiment. And the Parliament pass an Act to make it high Treason to correspond with or assist Charles Stewart, with any relief whatsoever. After many halts, skirmishes, long and tedious marches, of 300 miles in three Weeks, the Scots entred into Worcester, Aug. 23. 1651. from whence the King sent his Letters Mandatory to Sir Tho. Midleton and Coll. Mackworth, Governours of Shrewsbury, to raise Forces for him, but without success. The Parliament raised the Militia of the Counties, and Cromwel and the rest of their Army coming up together surrounded them on every side with their numerous Host, it being not known before in England that so great Forces were assembled in so short a time, which in the whole were judged to be above 50000, and the Scots in Worcester no more than 13000. The Earl of Derby being landed, as was expected at Wyewater in Lancashire, with 300 Gentlemen and others, while the English were busied at Worcester, increased to 1500, Coll. Lilburn was sent thither to observe his motions, and Cromwel's Regiment of Foot being at Manchester, was to join him at Preston. To prevent which, the Earl marched toward Manchester, Lilburn endeavoured to flank them in their march, so to join the Foot; which the Earl perceiving, prest to engage, and Lilburn being



over-match'd in Foot, the dispute prov'd difficult yet in an hour the Earl was totally routed, many persons of Quality taken, 300 Souldiers, all their Baggage Arms, and Ammunition, the Earl of Derbys George, Garter and Robes of the Order, but he escaped, and recovered Worcester. There were slain the L. Widdrington, Sir Tho. Tildesley, Coll. Mat. Boynton, and other inferiour Officers, with 60 Souldiers. Of the Parliaments party, ten were slain; but many wounded.

Cromwel having disposed the whole Army round Worcester in order to a Siege, the first remarkable attempt was possessing of a pass upon the Severne, at Upton by a party led by Lambert and Fleetwood, who marched toward the River Teame, over which was made a bridge of Boats, and another over Severn, on the Generals side; Upon which the Kings party took the alarm, & drew out Horse and Foot to oppose their passage, to whose relief Coll. Ingolfsbys, and Fairfax's Regiment of Foot, the Generals Life-Guard, and Hackers Regiment of Horse, were all led on by Cromwel himself: Then Coll. Goffe and Deans Regiments fell to scowring the Hedges which the Kings party had lined, and beat them from Hedge to Hedge, and being seconded by a fresh Supply, they were forced to retreat to Powick bridge, where three Regiments of Foot maintained a hot dispute, but at length retired into Worcester, except some that were taken. The Royalists renewing their courage, drew out what Horse and Foot they could on Cromwels side, the King leading them on, they imagining most of his Army had been on the other side, so that by this bold and resolute Salley, Cromwels men were forced a little to retire; But after a fight of four hours, where the King had his Horse twice shot under him, the Works and Fort Royal were taken, their Cannon turned upon themselves, and the English entered the Town; upon which many of the Foot threw down their Arms, which the King perceiving, rode up & down with



with his Hat in his Hand, intreating them to stand to their Arms, adding, 'I had rather you would shoot me, than keep me alive to see the sad consequences of this fatal day. But all proving ineffectual, the Earl of Cleveland, and some others, rallying some Forces put a small check to the Victor, whereby the King had opportunity to escape, about 7 at Night in the dark, with sixty Horse, out of St. Martin's gate.

The whole Army now entering the City, the Soldiers furiously fly through the streets, doing such execution, that nothing was seen for some time but blood and slaughter, till at last the plunder of the Town and the Prisoners having a little satisfied their appetites, they think of securing the rest. Most of the Scots Foot were slain or taken, but 3000 Horse made their escape. The number of the slain and Prisoners was about 10000. Those of Quality taken were D. Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnworth, Shrewsbury, Cleveland, Derby and Kelby, and several other Lords and Gentlemen; 1 Coll. of Horse, 13 of Foot, 9 Lieut. Coll. of Horse, 1 of Foot, 6 Majors of Horse, 13 of Foot, 37 Captains of Horse, 72 of Foot, 55 Quarter Masters of Horse, 89 Lieutenants of Foot, 76 Cornets of Horse, 99 Ensigns of Foot, 30 of the Kings Servants, 9 Ministers, 9 Sergeants, 158 Colours, the Kings Standard, Coach and Horses with other rich plunder, and his Collar of SS. Many parties were taken in Warwickshire, Shropshire, &c. so that few of that great Body, but were killed or taken. M. General Massey being wounded surrendered himself, and after made his escape. M. Gen. Middleton, Lieut. General Lesley, were taken and soon after most of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland were taken at Eller in that Kingdom, where they were assembled to propagate the Royal cause, namely, Old General Lesley, Earl Marshal, Earl of Crawford, the Lords Keith, Ogilby, Bargoyny, Huxley, Ley, with many Knights, Gentlemen and Ministers.

Ministers, which were shipped and sent for England.

Such was the sudden change of the condition of the Scots and the King, that he who a few days before was proclaimed King of Great Britain, had now neither Camp nor Garrison to retire to, 500 pounds sterling being offered to discover him, so that after travelling in disguise, and through many dangers about England, he at length found an opportunity to embark at Shoreham in Sussex for New-haven, in France, where he arrived Octob. 2. Of the great number of Prisoners taken, none of Quality suffered but the Earl of Derby, beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire, and Sir Tim. Fetherstone: Others of less Note suffered at Chester, Shrewsbury and other places. Nor did many of the Royalists expect any better fortune in this expedition, as appears by D. Hamiltons Letter to Sir Will. Crofts, taken among other Papers a few days before the Fight to this purpose: ' We are all laughing at the ridiculousness of our Condition, who having quitted Scotland being scarce able to maintain it, yet we grasp at all and nothing but all will satisfy us, or to lose all. I confess I cannot tell, whether our hopes or fears are greatest, but we have one stout Argument and that is despair, for we must now either shortly Fight or dye. All the Rogues have left us, I will not say whether for fear or disloyalty, but all now with his Majesty, are such as will not dispute his Commands. So that we see this undertaking was not the product of deliberate Counsel, but of necessity and desperation.

This Battle put a period to the Kings hopes of getting the Government by Arms, and secur'd to Cromwel all his former Conquests, the influence whereof, so acted in England, was great in Scotland; for their principal Nobility and Souldiery being cut off, they were no longer able to bear up, but were soon reduced to the obedience of England. And Cromwel giving an account to the Parliament of this great success, he concludes his LETTER by telling them, That

That this was a Crowning Victory, which was afterward thought to proceed from the foresight of his future Greatness. This fight happened Sept. 3. 1651. that very day twelve month wherein the Scots received that fatal blow at Dunbar. After the Battle Cromwel staid to see the Walls of Worcester levelled to the ground, and the Ditches filled up with Earth to shew his aversion to the Inhabitants for receiving his Enemies into it; and Sept. 12. came to London being met at Acton by the Parliament and the Speaker, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and hundreds of others; to whom Steel the City Recorder made a Congratulatory Oration, extolling his Victories and Exploits, with the highest flights of Rhetorick, and applying to him the words of Psalm 149, 'Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two edged Sword in their hand, to execute Vengeance upon the Heathen, and Punishments upon the People, to bind their Kings with Chains, and the Nobles with fetters of Iron, to execute upon them the judgement written; this honour have all the Saints, Praise ye the Lord.' He was then conducted in triumph to his House near White-Hall, great numbers of Scots Prisoners coming after him, the Tenthill fields to Westminster, as Trophies of his Victories, and the Colours taken there, with those at Dunbar, Worcester, and Preston, were hung up in Westminster Hall. After a short repose Cromwel and Lambert went to take their Places in Parliament and were entertained by the Speaker with a second Congratulatory Oration, magnifying their Courage and acknowledging the great obligation of the People of England to them. The same day the Lord Mayor feasted the General and his Officers, where mutual returns of kindness passed to the satisfaction of both parties.

Oct. 14. 1651. Coll. Hayn with two Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, were shipped at Wexmouth for reducing the Isle of Jersey, in 20 Vessels.

under Gen. Blake, who came to St. Owens Bay, where the ships running aground, the men leapt out some to the middle, others up to the neck in water, and ran ashore, the Enemy playing hard upon them with great and small shot, and gave a hot charge with their Horse; yet after half an hours dispute they fled and left behind them 12 Cannon and some Colours. The English marched further into the Island, within sight of Elizabeth Castle, under which was a Fort called St. Albans Tower, with 14 Guns, which upon summons was delivered, and so was Orgueil Castle, and Elizabeth Castle, upon good terms to the Garrison and Governour Sir G. Carteret, because of its strength. The Isle of Man was likewise reduced, with the Castles of Peel and Rushen, both strong and almost impregnable (as well as Cornet Castle in the Isle of Guernsey) if the Besieged had resolutely defended them. About this time died Adm. Popham, and Gen. Ireton, Son in-law to Oliver Cromwel, at Lysack, which Kingdom in a while, was wholly reduced to the Government of England.

The Parliament now passed an Act for Incorporating Scotland into one Common wealth with England; another of Oblivion and Free Pardon; a third to determine the Session of this Parliament on No. 3 1654. Fourth for the increase of shipping, and encouragement of Navigation, wherein was enacted, 'That no Foreign Goods or Commodities should be imported into England or Ireland, but only in English ships, under the Penalty of forfeiting the Goods and Ships. And that no Goods shall be brought in, unless shipp'd from the places of their growth, and Manufacture only. Also that no Fish or Oyl made of Fish, or Whale-bone, shall be imported, but such as shall be caught in Vessels belonging to the English. Lastly that no salted Fish, from Feb. 1. 1653. shall be exported in any save English Vessels, with sever. l other exceptions and Proviso's, in reference

ference to East-India Goods, and of Turkey, Spain, and Portugal.

This last Act tho' grateful to the Merchants and Seamen, yet extremely disturbed the Hollanders, judging it would cause a vast diminution in their trade which with so much advantage they had long driven to the loss and detriment of the English Nation; who sent Ambassadors to desire it might be repealed, but not succeeding, they began to dispute our ancient Right of the Flag in the British Seas, by refusing to strike sail to our Men of War, which occasioned a breach between the two Republicks. For in May 1665 Adm. Trump with 42 sail of Dutch ships, was discovered on the back of the Goodwin Sands, bearing toward Dover Road: Major Brown being near with a Squadron of English ships, sent the Grey-hound Frigate to speak with them, to whom they struck the Top sail, saying they came with a Message from Adm. Trump, to our Commander in Chief, and coming aboard, said, That the great North winds had forced them farther South than they intended, being compelled to ride some days off Dunkirk, where they had lost divers Anchors and Cables, protesting they intended no injury to the English Fleet; Gen. Blake who was westward with the rest of the Eng. Fleet, having had timely advice of this passage, hastened toward them, & on 19. saw them at Anchor in Dover Road, and being within three Leagues they stood Eastward, and received an Express from the States; upon which they bore directly up to our Fleet, Van Trump being the headmost Blake shot three Guns without Ball at the Flag, and Trump answered with a Gun on the opposite side of the Ship, signifying a disdain, and instead of striking his Top sail, hung out a red Flag which was the signal for his whole Fleet, and engaged Blake a broad side. The fight continued 4 hours till Night parted them, in which one Dutch Ship was sunk, and another of thirty Guns taken, with five Captains of both, and 150 Prisoners. Of the Killers,



lish 10 were slain and 40 wounded; the English Admiral was damaged in her Masts, Sails, Rigging & Hull, but the rest of the Fleet had inconsiderable loss.

This attempt of the Hollanders, while we were upon Treaty, so incensed the Parliament, that all the Addresses and Overtures of their Ambassadors, and the sending thither two more, could not appease them; yea, though they excused it, alledging, 'That the unhappy Fight between the Ships of both Commonwealths, was without the knowledge and against the wills of the States, taking God the Searcher of hearts to witness the same, and that with grief and astonishment they received the News of that unhappy rash action, and had consulted a remedy to this raw and bloody wound, by appointing a Solemn Meeting of all the Provinces, whereby they doubted not (by Gods favour) to remove the cause of all further differences, for the benefit of both Nations, and to avoid the detestable shedding of Christian blood, so much desired by their Enemies beseeching the Council of State, by the pledges of common Religion and Liberty, to do nothing out of heat, which with vain wishes can never be recalled. This they desire the more, because their Ships of War and Merchandize are detained in the English Ports.

The Parliament replied, That calling to mind the friendship and good correspondence, which they have always discovered towards the States General, during all the troubles in England, they are much surprized at such unsuitable Returns, especially at the Acts of Hostility lately committed in the very Roads of England, upon the Ships of this Commonwealth; & tho' they would willingly believe that the late Engagements of the Fleets hapned without their knowledge or consent, yet when they consider how disagreeable the actions of that State, & their Officers at Sea, have been, in the midst of a Treaty offered by themselves, and the extraordinary preparation of 150 Ships, with-



without any visible occasion, and the instructions given by the States to their Commanders at Sea, they have too much cause to believe that the States General design by force to Usurp the known Right of England in the Seas to destroy their Fleets that are under God their Walls and Bulwarks, and to expose the Nation to be invaded at pleasure, as by their late Action they have attempted to do: Therefore the Parliament are obliged to endeavour (by Gods assistance) to seek reparations for the wrongs already suffered, and security against any such attempts for the future, yet still desiring that all differences, if possible, may be peaceably and amicably composed.

This Answer quite broke off the Treaty, and the Ambassadors having had Audience of the Parliament took their leaves and departed.

And now these mighty States prepare to invade each other; Gen. Blake, with a gallant Fleet advanced North towards the Isles of Orkney, to seize the Vessels fishing there, who took 12 Dutch Men of War guarding the Busses; and Sir G. Ayscough with his Squadron being left to guard the narrow Seas, discovered 30 Dutch ships between Dover and Callice, which ten were taken and burnt, the rest run ashore on the Coasts of France. Many other Dutch and French Prizes were daily taken. Thence Ayscough sailed West, to seek out the Dutch Fleet, and conveyed home some Merchant-men from Plymouth; and being within 7 leagues of Plymouth, he had advice of them, so he resolved to stand over to the Coast of France, and next day, Aug. 16. 1652. had sight of them, being 60 sail of Men of War, and 30 Merchant-men; the English were but 38 sail, four Fireships and four Advice ships, yet they resolved to engage the Enemy: Ayscough and 6 other Frigates charged through the whole Dutch Fleet, receiving much damage in their Masts, Hulls, Sails and Rigging, yet they tack'd about, and charged them all again till dark Night.

Night, and had not some English Captains been desirous in their duty, they had probably destroyed their whole Navy. In this Engagement some few English were slain and wounded, and three Captains; a Fire ship of theirs was sunk, and other ships, but the darkness of the Night concealed their other losses who stood away for the Coasts of France, and the English for Plymouth to repair.

During this Fight, Blake came from the North into the Downs, and took six rich Dutch Prizes, sending some Frigates to reinforce Ayscough, and Capt. Pen, with his Squadron, hovering on the Coasts of France, surprized six stout Men of War more, now returned from the Venetian service, and richly laden. Sept. 5. 1666. Blake riding in the Downs, had notice of a French Fleet in Callice Road, whom he chased as far as they durst for the sands of Dunkirk, taking six of them, being ten Men of War of 28 and 30 Guns, and six Fire ships; This Fleet was to take in provisions at Callice for the relief of Dunkirk then besieged by the Spaniards, who being prevented of this succour, soon surrendered, as also Graveling Sept. 27. Gen. Blake discovered 60 sail of Dutch men of War on the back of Goodwin sands, under Admiral de Wit; next day Blake with his Fleet bore in among them, but being upon the sand called the Kenel Rack, under which the Dutch had secured themselves, four of our chief Ships were on ground, but soon got off, and resolved to engage, but the wind prevented them from coming up, yet with much ado next day within shot, upon which the Dutch set their main sails and ran for it, whom ten Frigates chased till night, and next day pursued them into the West Gabel in Zealand, and saw them run into Goree; The English fearing to sail further upon the Holland Coast, returned back. In this Skirmish the Dutch Rere-Admiral was lost, with a Fly boat towed her, and many men killed; 40 English slain, and as many wounded.

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The War between these two States reached to the Mediterranean Sea, whither the English had sent several Frigates to scour the Merchants ships from the Privateers of Toulon and Marseilles; and a Squadron of four sail, with three Smyrna ships under their Convoy, met with 12 Dutch men of War, who having such advantage, fell upon them, but met with stout resistance, two of their main top masts being shot down, and one of their Ships fired but quenched again. The Phoenix a stout ship of 45 Guns, was taken by the Dutch, the Paragon lost 27 men, and had 30 wounded; the Elizabeth had only two Barrels of Powder left, yet in despite of the Enemy, they brought their Merchants safe into Porto Longone near the Isle of Corsica, where the Fight was. The Dutch gloried in this small success, tho' they obtained so dearly and more by their number than valour, the English never giving over while they had M<sup>any</sup> Ammunition.

The Hollanders extremely concerned at the continual loss of their Ships, used their utmost industry fitting out their Fleet in December, and appeared on the back of the Goodwin with 30 men of War, and ten Fireships. The English under Blake were but 42, and not half mann'd, most of the great Ships being laid up, yet they resolv'd to engage them, on Dec. 30. both Fleets met, the English having a Weather-gage, and as few as they were, several of them never came up pretending they wanted men, so that the stress of the Fight lay upon a few, who were to encounter the whole Dutch Fleet. The Vanguard and the Victory, engaged 20 of the Hollanders, from first to last, and yet got clear of them all. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken, and Blake going to relieve the first, had his Foremast shot by a Dutch board, was twice boarded and yet got off, as did the rest but those two, and two Merchant ships. Blake withdrew into Lee Road to repair, and the Dutch

boasted of this Victory, by their Ambassadors, in all the Courts of Christendom.

This small loss did only rouse and awaken the English courage, who thought on nothing but revenge and to encourage them, the Parliament ordered the Seamen wages to be raised, from 18 to 23 shillings a month, for every Prize taken to have ten shillings a Ton, and six pound ten shillings and four pence for every great Gun, whether Iron or Brass, to be divided among the ships Crew, according to their Offices and all upon or above the Gun deck to be prize. Likewise to have ten pound a Gun for every Man of War they shall sink and destroy, to be divided with a months pay gratis to all Volunteers Lifted within 40 days and care taken for paying and curing the sick and wounded, with several other advantages: Which being Printed and Published the Seamen came in a great number, so that in February the English had a stout fleet at Sea, though the Dutch endeavoured to hinder all Nations from supplyingus with Pitch, Tar, or Masts.

Feb. 18. 1653. The Dutch Navy of 30 sail, with 150 Merchant men from Roan, Nantes and Bordeaux, were discovered between the Isle of Wight and Portland, the headmost of the English Fleet came up and engaged them, which was Gen. Blake in the Triumph, Gen. Dean, and three or four more, the rest being to the Leeward, and not able to come up; yet these few held 30 Dutch men of War in play from 8 till a afternoon, when about half the English Fleet came up and engaged the Enemy till Night parted them. In this Fight the English lost only the Sampson, a Dutch ship, which being unserviceable themselves sunk, the crew being all saved; which ship sunk the adversary and maim'd her. Next day the English chased the Dutch, whereby some of the Enemies ships were brought to the Lee and destroyed. The day after they engaged again, and the dispute grew so hot, that the Hollanders began to fire out of their stern

most port, and make away; so that 50 Merchant ships fell into our hands, and 9 Men of War, several others being sunk, besides what themselves sunk as unserviceable, and it was writ from France that about 2000 dead Bodies of the Dutch were seen about their shoars; 1400 were taken Prisoners and brought to London; Blake was wounded, and several English Captains slain.

The Dutch deeply sensible of this loss sent a Letter to the Parliament of England, signed only by the States of Holland; The Parliament returned answer, signifying their desire of a friendly compliance to avoid further mischief; yet it had no effect. But the English to allay this Victory met with a great check in the Streights, for having by a Stratagem regain'd the Phoenix Frigate from the Dutch, as she lay in Legorn Haven, they prepared for a shother encounter with them: Captain Boddily with nine Men of War, sail'd from Porto Longone, to assist Capt. Apleton in Legorn, where he had been kept in for several months by 22 Holland Frigats; upon his approach Apleton weigh'd out of the Mole a little too soon with his Ships, and was instantly engag'd by the whole Dutch Fleet, who having the Wind, their Admiral and two others boarded the Leopard, a stout Ship of 50 Guns who fought bravely five hours, but at length was over power'd. The Bonaventure, by a shot in her powder room, took fire and was blown up. The Perigrine was engag'd with four or five Dutch at a time and having her main and mizen mast, shot away, was also taken. The Levant Merchant was first boarded by one of the Enemies ships of 30 Guns, and after two hours Fight, by another at big, the first of which she sunk, and yet was also posses'd by the Dutch. The Sampson was boarded by young Rere Admiral Trum on one side, and a Fireship on the other, and burnt. The loss of these five ships, was the greatest damage the English sustained since the War, and was done in the fight of Capt. Boddily and 9 English Frigats, who

did not in the least assist them; for which they were branded with Cowardice and Treachery,

At this time the King of Portugal unable to resist the Power of the English at Sea, sent an Ambassador to conclude a Peace, and give Satisfaction for the Merchants Losses. An Agent was likewise sent from the French King, desiring the release of his Ships taken going for the relief of Dunkirk, and to procure a right understanding between the two Republicks. And on the other side, four Deputies were sent from the Prince of Conde, to crave aid against Cardinal Mazarine and his party, who had Besieged the City of Bordeaux. Other Nations likewise endeavoured to be Mediators between England and Holland, as the Queen of Sweden; the Cantons of Switzerland, the Imperial Cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh, but all was fruitless.

December 10. 1652. Gen. Cromwel appointed a Meeting of divers Members of the Parliament and Principal Officers of the Army, where he proposed to them, ' That the old King being dead, and his Son defeated he held it necessary to come to a settlement of the Nation, and he requested this meeting, that they might consider and advise what way fit to be done, and to present it to the Parliament. To this Proposal several Present gave their opinions; and first,

Mr. William Lenthall, Speaker of the House; spake thus, My Lord, This Company were very ready to obey your Excellency, and the business you are pleased to proponnd to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous Success to our Forces under your Command; and if we do not improve these Mercies to some Settlement, such as may be to our Honour, and the good of the Commonwealth, shall be very much blame worthy.

R.

Major



Major General *Harrison* spake thus, I think that which my Lord General hath propounded, as to a Settlement both of our Civil and Spiritual Liberties is very necessary; that so the mercys which the Lord hath given in to us may not be cast away; but how this may be done is the great Question.

*L. Whitlock.* It is a great Question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved; yet it were a pity that a Meeting of so many able and worthy Persons, as I see here should be fruitless; and I would humbly offer in the first place, whether it be not requisite to understand in what way this Settlement is desired, whether by an absolute Republick, or with a mixture of Monarchy.

General *Cromwell*, My Lord Commissioner *Whitlock* hath put it upon the right Point, and indeed it is my meaning, that we should consider whether a Republick, or a mixt Monarchical Government will be best settled, and if any thing Monarchical, then whom that Power shall be placed.

*Sir Th. Widdrington.* I think a mixt Monarchical Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People of this Nation, and if any Monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the Sons of the late King.

*Lieut. Gen. Fleetwood.* I think that Question, whether an absolute Republick, or a mixt Monarchy is best to be settled in this Nation, will not very easily be determined.

*L. C. J. Sir John.* It will be found that the Government of this Nation without something of Monarchical Power, will be very difficult to be settled, as not to shake the Foundation of our Laws and the Liberties of the people.

*Mr. William Lenthall.* It will breed a strange confusion to settle a Government of this Nation without something of Monarchy.

*Coll. Digges.* I beseech you, my Lord, w

may not this, as well as other Nations be governed by a Republick.

*L. Commissioner Whitlock.* The Laws of England are so interwoven with the Power, and Practice of Monarchy, that to settle a Government without something of Monarchy in it, would breed so great an alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, that you will scarce find time to rectify; nor can any well foresee the Inconveniencies that will arise thereby.

*Gen. Whaley.* I do not understand matters of Law, but it seems to me the best way, not to have any thing of Monarchical Power in the Settlement of our Governments; and if we should resolve upon any, whom should we pitch upon? The Kings eldest Son hath been in Arms against us, and his second Son is our Enemy.

*Mr Tho. Widdrington.* But the late Kings third Son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us, and too young to have been in Arms against us, or infected with the Principles of our Enemies.

*L. Whitlock* There may be a day given for the Kings eldest Son, or for the Duke of York his Brother, to come into the Parliament, and upon such Terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable both to our Civil and Spiritual Liberties and a Settlement may be made upon them.

*Gen. Cromwel.* This will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty; but really I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our Rights both as Englishmen and Christians, that a Settlement of Somewhat of Monarchical Power would be very effectual.

So that it seems the Military Men were for an Absolute Commonwealt, the Lawyers for a mixt Monarchy, and many for the Duke of Gloucester to be King; But some imagine that Cromwel designed himself to be the Person, and by this Conference founded the inclinations of these Gentlemen, to the Company parted without any result at all; by which it

pears, to be far easier to subvert an ancient Government than to erect a new one in the place thereof.

In February following the Duke of Gloucester being sent to his Mother into France, Cromwell had a long discourse with L. Commissioner Whitlock, concerning the danger of a Victorious Army lying idle in Peace, which usually occasions mutineries, for not being rewarded according to their deserts; and that the Army were much disgusted with the Parliament for their Pride, Ambition, Self seeking, and ingrossing all Places of Honour and Profit to themselves and Friends; and their daily breaking forth into new and violent Actions; their delays in business, and design to perpetuate themselves; their meddling in private matters; and the scandalous Lives of some of the chief of them, so that unless there were some Authority so full and high, as to restrain and keep things in better Order, and that might put a stop to these Exorbitancies, it would be impossible in humane Reason to prevent the utter Ruine of the Nation.

The L. Whitlock in answer hereunto, represented the difficulty of reforming the Parliament, he being subordinate to them, and that he hoped the greater part of the Members were not such as he had represented them.

Cromwell replies. My Lord, There is little hopes of a good Settlement from them, really there is not, but a great deal of fear that they will destroy again what the Lord hath so graciously done for them and us: We all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confusion; and these Men will help us on if they be suffered to proceed in their ways, some course must be taken to curb and restrain them or we shall be ruined by them.

L. Whitlock answered: We our selves have owned them the Supreme Power, and taken our Commissions from

from them, and how to restrain them after this, will be hard to find out.

*Cromwell.* What if a Man should take upon him to be King?

*Whitlock.* I think the Remedy worse than the Disease.

*Cromwell.* Why do you think so?

*Whitlock* replied, That as to his own Person the Title of King would be no advantage, because he had the Kingly Power in him already; for as to the Army, as he was General, all Officers which he nominated were seldom refused, and tho' he had no negative voice in passing Laws, yet what he disliked did not easily pass; and that he had Power to dispose of the Money raised by Taxes, and for Foreign Affairs, tho' the Parliament had the Ceremonial part, the expectation of Success depended on his Excellency, to whom Foreign Ministers particularly addressed themselves. So that there was less Envy and Danger, but not less real opportunity of doing good in his being General, than if he should assume the Title of King. That it would also be dangerous to take it, since the main Controversie between him and his Adversaries was, whether to establish a Monarchy or a Free State, and that most of his Friends had engaged with him, and undergone all their hazards and difficulties for settling a Commonwealth; but if he should take on him the Title of King, the Question would be no longer Whether the Government should be by a Monarchy or Free State, but whether *Cromwell* or *Stuart* should be King. That his Excellency was surrounded with secret Enemies, and that the Officers of the Army, many of whom were of turbulent and busy Spirits, and who by the Successes they had gained with him, accounted themselves all Victors, were not without their designs how to dismount him, that some of them might get into the Saddle, and that they wanted not Counsel and encouragement herein from some Members of Parliament,

lament, who were jealous of his Power and Greatness, fearing he should in time overmaster them, and so were willing to clip his Wings.

Cromwel Thanked Whitlock for his Advice and asked him, what were his thoughts for preventing the impending Mischiefs.

Whitlock advised him to make a private Treaty with Charles a King of Scots, who in the Condition he was in, would give his Excellency sufficient security for making himself and Posterity as great and permanent in humane probability, as any Subject could desire. He likewise might provide for his Friends, and fully secure all Spiritual and Civil Liberties. At this Cromwel seemed displeased, and broke off the discourse, and his carriage to Whitlock from that time was altered.

The three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland with the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, being wholly subdued by the Republicans, an Act of Oblivion passed for pardoning all former Crimes, chiefly procured by Cromwel to ingratiate himself with the Vanquished Royalists. And now the Army seem much discontented, objecting that the Parliament appropriated all Places of Honour and Profit to themselves and Friends; and earnestly desire, that at length an end might be put to their sitting, to make way for a new Representative chosen by the People, and for reforming the Laws. The Parliament grown grave by long Possession, would not appear fearful of their own Servants and Soldiers, and so bid them mind their own affairs, and obey their Order, to whom the care of the Common wealth was committed, and to make no Tumults, since they who had plucked a King from his Throne, wanted neither Resolution nor Force to reduce them to their Obedience, though milder Courses were more agreeable to them.

The Souldiers reply, That they were not Mercenarymen, neither had taken up Arms only in prospect of Pay, but for recovering the Publick Liberty, neither

then would they lay them down, till they had found the Fruit of their endeavours. And that they ought not to boast of putting the King to Death, since they could never have effected it, had not they been supported and incouraged by their Swords and Courage. The Parliament being moved with these Reproaches of the Army, resolve to make an Act for disbanding part of them, and the remainder to receive but half pay, and to be Cantoned in several Places throughout the Nation, to prevent the publick Charge, to hinder all attempts of the Royalists, and take from their own Souldiers all Opportunities of making Innovations. The Officers of the Army were much disturbed hereat, refusing to be disbanded, and frame a Petition wherein they declare their Resolution, not to lay down their Arms, before the Remnant of the long Parliament were dissolved, and a Representative lawfully called; and that for Expedition, some of the Officers of the Army as Commissioners, should be admitted into the House. This the Parliament were obliged to consent to, and 12 of each Party met about these Proposals, but they not agreeing upon the manner and form of the new Government, the Parliament think it safest that new Members should be chosen in Place of those that dyed or were turned out; which they instantly agreed to, and Enacted, Tho' the Night before they had privately promised the contrary to several chief Officers, and that they would Model a new Representative.

So soon as Cromwel heard this, he hastned to the Parliament House, April 23. 1653. with M. General Harrison, Fleetwood, and 7 or 8 Officers more, ordering ten or twelve Souldiers to stand at the Door: And being entered, spake to this purpose; You have sufficiently imposed upon the People, and provided for your selves and Relations, by sitting here under pretence of serving the Commonwealth, reforming the Laws, and promoting the Publick good; whilst in the mean time you have invaded the wealth of the



State, and have thrust your selves and Friends into all Offices of Profit and Honour to feed your own Luxury and Idleness, then stamping with his Foot, which was a sign to the Souldiers without, for Cromwell said he, get you gone, and give place to honest Men that will more faithfully discharge their Trust. But whilst he was thus with Conternation, and his Tongues, one had the boldness to tell him; It suited ill with his Excellencies Justice to brand them all so miscuously without any proof of a Crime. At which being a little more heated, taking hold of one by the Cloke, *Thou art a Whore Master*, says he, And another, *Thou art an Adulterer*, To a third, *Thou art a Glutton*, and to a fourth, *Thou art an Extortioner*. Upon which they all began to move, some by fear or force, some murmuring, but the Speaker not rising readily out of his Chair, Harrison lent him his hand, and gently lifted him out. Cromwel also ordered that Bauble, as he called the Mace, to be taken away, and commanded the Parliament to be dissolved, to the general satisfaction of most People, who were tired out with their dilatory proceedings. When the Members were all departed, the Doors were locked up, and Guards sent upon them and all the Avenues to prevent their return. And thus was this mighty Parliament dissolved or dissolved; after 12 years sitting, and after having transacted so many great affairs, and this without any opposition or disturbance, their Authority transferred into the hands of the Souldiery, and their Names publickly reproached and vilified: But to satisfy the Nation, Cromwel and his Council of Officers published a Declaration the next day, of the Reasons of their proceedings, wherein they gave an Account of the great successes wherewith the Army had been blest, which they hoped would have procured the Settlement of the Nation both in Spiritual and Civil matters; but the Parliament making little Progress therein, the good People of the Land applied themselves to the Army, to move them to proceed

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acted vigorously in reforming what was amiss in the Commonwealth, and settling it upon a foundation of Justice and Righteousness, who tho' they were unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority, yet were prevailed upon by some of them to call a new Parliament, but their Zeal and Integrity and opposition to the People of God, and the Godly Party, who shewed their Zeal and Integrity, and were of no use but to countenance the wicked Practices, who designed to fill up their House to perpetuate themselves in the Government, and hinder the true Election of Successive Parliaments, whereby the Laws might be reformed, Justice impartially administered, and the People in due might enjoy their Monarchy. For preventing these pernicious Designs whereby the Interest of all honest Men, and the glorious Cause would at one blow have been laid in the dust, and the Nation imbroild in new Troubles they were necessitated, (tho' with much reluctancy) to put an end to this Parliament, which they had done out of an honest heart, preferring the Cause above their Names, Families, Lives and Interests how dear soever; with real purpose of heart to call to the Government Persons of approved Fidelity and honesty from several parts of the Commonwealth, thereby to obtain the Fruits of a Just and Righteous Reformation so long Prayed for, wisht for, and panted after by all good Men, &c.

Signed at Whitehall, in the Name of his Excellency, the Lt. General Cromwell, and Council of Officers, April 22. 1653.

This Declaration was followed by another, that all Officers Civil and Military should continue in their several Places, and Act therein as fully as when the Parliament was sitting, and that a Council of State should be constituted, for managing the Affairs of the Commonwealth, till a Parliament should be called.

The

The Hollanders hoped to reap advantage from these Revolutions, but were mistaken, the Naval Affairs being managed with as much Application as before, as they found to their cost; for the Dutch having a great number of Merchant ships outward bound durst not venture into the Channel, but with a Fleet of Men of War conveyed them by the North Sea and toward the Sound, and there met with another Fleet of Merchant men homeward bound from Russia, East India, and France, whom they brought home safe, and hearing the English Fleet was homeward, came into the Downs, taking two or three small Vessels; and made some shot into Dover Town, boasting the English Fleet was lost, and that they would send a Hue and Cry after them, when on a sudden, the English Navy arrived from the North, and came into Yarmouth Road.

June 1. Being at Anchor in Sole-Bay, they discovered two Dutch Galliot Hoyses, to whom chase was given till the whole Dutch Fleet was discovered, but the weather proving dark, they lost sight of them.

June 3. Our Fleet being at Anchor off the Guber, discovered the Enemy two Leagues to the Leeward, being 100 sail, and weighed toward them; about Noon both Fleets were engaged for some hours very sharply, in the Evening the Dutch bore right away before the wind, next day they engaged again, and after 100 hours dispute, the Hollanders would have got away, but the wind freshing Westerly the English bore in hard among them, that they took 11. Men of War, 2 water Hoys, 6 Captains, 1500 Prisoners, and sunk 6 Men of War more, the rest escaped by the darkness of the night and the Flatts. The English lost Dean one of their Admirals, who was killed with a great shot the first day, with one Captain and 14 men more, and 240 wounded, but not one ship was lost. The English were much encouraged by Blake coming in, during the Fight with 16 stout Men of War. The Dutch having in the Night got into the Wellings,

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the Flye and Texel, the English sail as near the coast as was safe, where they lay for some time, taking many Prizes, to the great dammage of the Hollanders, whose ships could neither go in or out from any one of their Ports, to join together to oppose them.

Cromwel and his Council of Officers, having considered of the qualifications of the next Parliament, and made a List of those persons in England, Scotland and Ireland, to whom they deligated to commit the Legislative power, Warrants were issued out for them to appear at the Council Chamber at Whitehall, July 4. 1653.

The Persons summoned to the number of 144 met accordingly, where Cromwel made a Speech to them concerning the continued Series of Providences by which God had appeared in carrying on this Cause, since the famous Victory at Worcester, and the actions of the Army thereupon, after divers applications to the Parliament, with the grounds and necessity of their dissolving, which he declared to be for the preservation of this Cause, and the interest of all honest men engaged therein. He then told them of the clearness of the Call given to the Members then present, to take upon them the Supreme Authority, and from the Scriptures exhorted them to their duty, desiring that a tenderness might be used toward all conscientious Persons of what Judgment soever.

Cromwel then produced an Instrument under his own hand and Seal, whereby he devolved the Supreme Authority and Government of the Commonwealth, into the hands of the Persons there met, who, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the Supreme Authority of the Nation, unto whom all persons within the same were to yield obedience and subjection, and that they should sit no longer than Nov. 3. 1654. and three months before their dissolution, they were to make choice of other persons to succeed

forward them, who were not to sit above twelve months, and then to provide for a Succession of Government. Which Instructions being delivered them, the General with his Officers withdrew. From thence the Members adjourned to the Parliament House at Westminster, and first considered what Title to take for themselves, and after three days debate, resolved, that would be called, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England; and chose Mr. Ross their Speaker.

About this time John Lilburn, banished by an Act of the last Parliament, for certain Crimes he was charged with, took occasion upon this change of Government to return into England, and cast himself upon Gen. Cromwel, craving his Protection in a publick Address, who declining to meddle in civil affairs, left him to the Law, and he was committed to Newgate, and the next Sessions being brought to the Old Bailey, he first demanded Council, which was granted him: next day he refused to put in his Plea, unless he might have a Copy of his Indictment, which was likewise granted. Next day he delivered in his Bill of Exceptions to his Indictment; after that he demanded a Copy of the Judgment given against him in Parliament, together with the Act: These he joined Issue, and made his defence for several hours, and about 12 at Night the Jury brought him in not Guilty, but he was sent back to Newgate, and thence to the Tower, where he continued some time, and then turned Quaker, and dying soon after, was buried from the Bull and Mouth Meeting Place near Aldersgate, with a numerous Company of that Party attending him to his Grave.

In Scotland at this time, the English had taken most of their strong Towns, Forts and Castles, in the Low lands, yet the Highlanders made IncurSIONS, robbing and killing many, returning to their inaccessible Fastnesses, where they could not be pursued, being commanded by the Lords Glencarn, Ardel, Seaforth

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forth, and others: the last of whom sent a Summons to a ship that lay at Anchor at Lewis Island, (having before surprized 7 or 8 men that went ashore for Provisions,) to deliver up the Vessel for the Kings Service.

But the Captain did not think fit to obey his Summons, sailing away and leaving his Men behind. Thus they continued, expecting Supplies of Men from Gen. Midleton, and the Low Countries; but a Party under Glencarn were defeated, himself hardly escaping, and several other Parties, so that they could not join. At length Midleton arrived from Holland with the expected Provisions and a Commission to be General and Monroe to be Lieut. General; which so incensed Glencarn, that he who had imployed his utmost interest in raising men, must now be commanded by others, that they quarrelled, Glencarn was contented to be L. Gen. but Monroe would not agree to it, so a Duel was fought, in which Monroe being wounded and disarmed, deserted the service with about 500 Gentlemen and agreed with the Governour of Dunbarton to live peaceably at home; others did the like, yet Midleton stood out still, till first in Argyle, and then at Loughary, he was by Gen. Monk, and Coll. Morgan, wholly overthrown, and then returned to Holland. The Assembly of the Kirk was likewise dissolved by Coll. Morgan, and the Clergy subjected.

Ireland was by the English Arms brought to such a condition, as there was no fear of disturbance, only a few Tories kept some inaccessible places, and made irruptions to steal and plunder. An high Court of Justice was erected there, of which Cook was President, by whom many Irish and some of their ancient Nobility, were sentenced and executed for the bloody Massacre in 1641; about 14000 were sold to the King of Spain, and many transported into other Countries, the rest being driven into the Province of Connaught, out of which upon Pain of Death they were not to go without leave. The other three Provinces Ulster, Munster,



Munster, and Connaught were allotted to the English, and all forfeited Lands divided among such Adventurers as had advanced Money for the Irish Affairs, and for satisfaction of the Soldiers Arrears. Fleetwood succeeded Ireton as Lt. Governour of Ireland, by the order of Cromwel, he having married his Eldest Daughter Bridget, the Widow of the deceased Ireton.

The Hollanders finding little advantage by the War, sent four Commissioners to begin a Treaty, but there was no Cessation of Arms; so a remarkable battle happened between the two Navies, July 29. 1659. The Scots discovered a Dutch Fleet from the Westings of 25 Men of War, upon which the English made what sail they could after them, which the Enemy perceiving stood away; yet about 5 in the evening, near 30 of the English engaged, the rest of the Fleet being a stern, so that they bore the whole brunt of the Fight till Night parted them. The Dutch sent away their maimed Ships in the Night, and got by with their whole Fleet in order to join 25 Sail more in the Texel, which the English could not prevent because of the foul weather. Next morning the Dutch with these new Recruits fell upon the English Fleet, they fought courageously from five in the morning till one afternoon, both Fleets passing thro' and endeavouring to burn, sink, and destroy each other. At length the Dutch went off with the loss of some ships either sunk or burnt, the Garland a stout Man of War taken formerly by the Dutch, was burnt by the Worcester: The Triumph and the Andrew were boarded by three Dutch Fireships, and had some damage in their Sails, but were quickly cleared. The Dutch declining, made away directly for the Texel, and the English being somewhat disabled, and not daring to venture too near the Holland Coasts, the whole Fleet sail for Sole Bay: The English Admirals in this Fight were Gen. Blake and Gen. Monk, Pen was Vice Admiral, and Lawson Rear Admiral.

Admiral. When Monk with the English Fleet set sail, and stood out to Sea, the Dutch supposed they fled for fear, which made one of the Captains desire Van Trump to pursue, ' For, said he, these Skellums dare not stand one broad side from your Excellency, you may see them plainly running home, and therefore, my Lord, miss not the opportunity. But Trump, who understood better, gave this short reply, ' Sir, look to your charge, for were the enemy but 20 sail, they would never refuse to fight us. The English had 300 slain, whereof 7 were Captains and 700 wounded, five of them Captains. The Dutch had about 30 ships sunk and burnt, and their renowned Admiral Van Trump was slain in the Fight, and out of the Dutch maimed ships that lay floating on the Sea, the English took six Captains, and 1000 other prisoners. This was the bloodiest Engagement that had yet happened between the two Nations, and for their valour and conduct the Parliament ordered Gold Chains to be given to Blake, Monk Pen and Lawson, as a mark of their favour, and other chains were bestowed on the Flag Captains and Medals of silver to the Officers of the Fleet. It was after known by Letters from Holland, that they lost 6000 men in this Battel.

The Parliament having sate above five months, in which they made several Acts, one for Marriages before a Justice of Peace; another for relief of Prisoners, another against the high Court of Chancery, another for a Tax of 6 months at 120000 £ per month, at length were consulting of an Act for taking away Tythes, a Committee was appointed to consider of the matter, who brought in their report Dec. 10. 1653. ' That they thought it convenient that Commissioners be sent into all the Counties, and enabled to eject scandalous and unable Ministers, and also be impowered to settle able Ministers in all void places: That such as are, or shall be approved for publick Preachers of the Gospel, shall have and en-

by such maintenance as is already settled by Law. That upon hearing and considering what hath been offered to the Committee touching propriety in Tythes, it is their opinion that they have a Legal propriety in them.

The Parliament having spent several days upon this report, put the Question, Whether the House doth agree with the Committee, which was carried in the Negative; whereupon, several heats and divisions arose. 30 Dec. 14. a Gentleman moved, That the sitting of the Parliament as then Continued, would not be for the good of the Common wealth, and that it was requisite to deliver up to the L. Gen. Cromwel the powers they received from him. This motion being seconded by others, the House rose, and the Speaker Mr. Rouse, with the Majority of the Members, did, by a writing under there hands, resign their powers to Gen. Cromwel, at White Hall, by their Speaker, who thanked them for the pains they had taken for the service of the Common wealth, tho' by a strange spirit and perverse principle in some of the Members, they had missed of their good intentions. Some of the Members continued still sitting in the House, to whom Coll. White was sent with a Guard of Souldiers, and required them in the Name of the General to depart, for the Parliament was dissolved, who replying that they were upon business, and ought not to be interrupted, he at length compelled them to leave the House tho' unwilling.

The Parliament having thus resigned the power given them, the whole Authority, both Civil and Military of the three Nations, was devolved into the hands of O. Cromwel, who calling a Council of Officers, with some others, to consult of the Settlement of the Government, they resolved to have a Commonwealth in a single person: That the Person should be O. Cromwel, Captain General of all the Forces in England, Scotland and Ireland, alledging, That it was

not

not Monarchy which was quarrell'd at, but the Military Administration and Abilities therein, by its prerogative being unlimited and and arbitrary all which would be avoided by circumscribing him a Protector and his Council, a new Instrument of Government, and the supreme power of a Triumvir Parliament, in whom during their sitting, the Sovereign Authority should reside. In pursuance whereof, a Council was appointed him to consist of twenty.

And the Instrument of Government designed to be the foundation of this new Settlement, was to this effect:

That the Title of O. Cromwel should be Lord Protector of the Common wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: That all proceedings shall run in the Name and stile of the Protector and all Honours, Officers, and Titles to be derived from him: That he may pardon all Offences but Treason and Murder: That the Militia, during the Parliament, shall be in his and their hands, but in the intervals only in his and his Council: That he and his Council may make War and Peace with Forreign Princes: No new Laws to be made, nor old ones abrogated, without consent of Parliament: A Parliament to be called within 6 months and afterwards every third year, and if need be oftner, which the Protector shall not dissolve without consent of Parliament till after five months: The Parliament of English to consist of 400, to be chosen by more equal distributions in Counties and Burroughs: Of Scotch 30 to be elected, and of Ireland as many: The Writs for Election to pass under the Seal of the Commonwealth to the Sheriffs, and if the Protector omit, or deny it, then the Commissioners of the Seal shall be obliged, under pain of High Treason, to issue out such Writs; and in case of failure in them, the high Sheriffs then do it, That such

at and elected by the Members of the Church: If  
the Sheriff, Mayor, or Bayliff, make a false Return,  
or any way procure an undue Election, he shall be  
fined 2000 l. That none who have borne arms a-  
gainst the Parliament, Irish Rebels or Papists, shall  
be capable of being elected, and in case they be e-  
lected, to forfeit two years Revenue, and three  
parts of their Goods: None are to be elected un-  
der the Age of 21 years, nor unless he be a man of  
good conversation: None to have Votes in Election  
not worth 200 l. That sixty shall make a Quorum;  
The Protector if need be may call Parliaments in  
the intervals of the Triennial ones: Those Bills  
they make to be offered to the Protector, who refu-  
sing to sign them in 20 days, they are to pass into  
Acts without his consent. The Protector, with ad-  
vice of his Council, in case of Death or breach of  
Trust, is to substitute new Privy Councillors:  
A competent Revenue shall be settled for maintain-  
ing 10000 Horse and 15000 Foot, and the Navy  
not to be altered or lessened without the advice  
of the Council, and upon the disbanding of  
them, the Money to be brought into the Exche-  
quer for sudden occasions: No new Taxes nor  
Laws to be made without consent in Parliament:  
All forfeited Lands unsold to belong to the Protec-  
tor: The Protectorate to be Elective, but the Royal  
Family to be excluded: O. Cromwel to be present  
Protector: All the great Offices of the Common-  
wealth, such as Chancellour, &c. if they become  
void in Parliament time, to be supplied by their  
approbation, or in intervals of Parliament, with the  
approbation of the Council: The Christian Religi-  
on, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures to be  
the publick Profession of the Nation, and those that  
administer in it to be maintained by the Publick, but  
by some way more convenient, and less lyable to en-  
vy than Tythes: None are to be compelled to con-  
sent to the Publick Profession by fine, or any pun-  
ishment

...whenever, but only in Person and Arguments; None that profess Faith in Jesus Christ are to be prohibited the exercise of their Religion, provided he do not disturb others, except the Papists and Prelatists, who are debarred that License: All Sales of Estates, made by Parliament, and all Articles of War to be made good: And lastly, the Protector and his Successor, upon coming that Charge, to swear to procure, by all means, the Peace, quiet, and welfare of the Common wealth, to observe these Articles; and to administer all things in his power, according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of England.

Dec. 16. 1653, the Protector came from Whitehall to the Chancery Court at Westminster, attended by the Lords Commissioners of the great Seal, the Barons of the Exchequer, and Judges in their Robes, the Council of the Common wealth, the L. Mayor Aldermen, and Recorder of London, in their Scarlet Gown, and many of the chief Officers of the Army. A Chair of State being set, the Protector stood on the left hand uncovered, till the Instrument was read, which he subscribed in the face of the Court, and then swore to perform as follows:

I promise in the presence of God not to violate or infringe the matters and things contained in the Instrument, but to observe, and cause the same to be observed, and in all things to the best of my understanding, will govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs, and will seek their peace, and cause Justice and Law to be equally administered.

He then sat down covered in the Chair, and the Lords Commissioners delivered him the great Seal of England, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance, which he returned: Then the Court rose, and the Protector was attended back as before, to the Banqueting House at Whitehall, the Lord Mayor bare headed carrying the Sword before him, where



an exhortation being made by one of his Chaplains, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges departed. And thus was the Protector confirmed in his high dignity, tho' many of the former Admirers, were discontented therewith, but to outward obedience, the Council emitted the following Proclamation, which was published in England, Scotland and Ireland.

**W**HEREAS the late Parliament dissolved themselves and resigned their Powers and Authorities, the Government by a Lord Protector, and successive elective Parliaments is now established: And whereas Oliver Cromwel, Captain General of all the Forces of this Common wealth, is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof, We do therefore make Publication of the Premises, and strictly charge and command all Persons whatsoever, in the three Nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and subject themselves to the Government so established: And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, &c. are required to publish this Proclamation, that none may have cause to pretend Ignorance in this behalf.

The Protector being advanced to this Supreme Dignity, Addressees were presented to him, and the Poets of that Age were not wanting in magnifying him and his Actions. Among others Edmund Waller Esq; the English Virgil, Harangu'd him the following Elegant Panygyrick.

*To his Highness OLIVER  
Lord Protector, &c.*

**W**Hile with a strong and yet a gentle hand  
You bridle Faction, and our hearts com-  
Protect us from our selves and from our Foe, (mand,  
Make us Unite and make us Conquer too;  
Let Partial Spirits still aloud complain,  
Think themselves injur'd that they cannot Reign;

And

And own no Liberty but when they may  
 Without controul upon their Fellows prey;  
 Above the Waves as Neptune shew'd his Face  
 To chide the Winds and save the Trojan Race;  
 So has your Highness, rais'd above the rest,  
 Storms of Ambition tossing us in rest.  
 Your drooping Country, torn with Civil Hate  
 Restor'd by you, is made a glorious State;  
 The Seat of Empire where the Irish come,  
 And the unwilling Scot to fetch their doom;  
 The Sea's our own, and now all Nations erect  
 With bending Sails each Vessel of our Fleet.  
 Your Power extends as far as Winds can blow,  
 Or swelling Sails upon the Globe may go:  
 How'n that has plac'd this Island to give Law,  
 To ballance Europe, and her States to awe;  
 In this Conjunction does our Britain smile,  
 The greatest Leader, and the greatest Isle.  
 Whether this portion of the World were sent  
 By the rude Ocean from the Continent,  
 Or thus Created; sure it was design'd  
 To be the Sacred refuge of Mankind,  
 Whither the Oppressed shall henceforth resort  
 Justice to crave, and succour at your Court,  
 And then your Highness, not for Ours alone,  
 But for the Worlds Protector shall be known,  
 Fame swifter than your winged Navy flies,  
 Thro' every Land that near the Ocean lies,  
 Sounding your Name, and telling dreadful News  
 To all that PyracY and Rapine use.  
 With such a Chief the meanest Nation blest,  
 Might hope to lift her head above the rest:  
 What may be thought impossible to do,  
 For us Embraced by the Sea and You.  
 Lords of the Worlds great Waste, the Ocean, We  
 Whose Forrests tend to Reign upon the Sea,  
 And every Coast may Trouble or Relieve,  
 But none can visit us without our leave;

Angels and We have this Privilege,  
That none can at our happy Seat arrive,  
While we descend at Pleasure to invade  
The Bad with Vengeance, or the good to Aid.  
Our little World the Image of the great  
Like that amidst the Ambient Ocean's set  
Of her own growth hath all that Nature craves  
And all that's rare, in Tribute from the Waves,  
As Egypt does not on the Clouds rely,  
But to her Nile owes more than to the Sky;  
So whatsoever our Earth & Heav'n denies  
Our ever-constant Friend the Sea supplies,  
The taste of hot Arabia's Spice we know,  
Free from the scorching Sun that makes it grow.  
Without the heat, in Persian Silks we shine;  
And without Planting drink of every Vine.  
To dig for Wealth we weary not our Limbs,  
Gold, tho' the heaviest Metal hither swims;  
Ours is the Harvest where the Indians mow,  
We Plough the Deep, and Reap what others Sow:  
Things of the Noblest kind our own Soil breeds,  
Sour are our Men, and Warlike are our Seeds.  
Rome tho' her Eagle thro' the World has flown  
Could never make this Island all her own:  
Here the Third Edward and the Black Prince too,  
France Conqueror Henry flourish'd; And now You  
For whom we say'd, as did the Grecian State,  
Till Alexander came to urge their Fate;  
When for more Worlds the Macedonian cry'd,  
He will not This in her lap did hide  
Another yet, a World reserv'd for You  
To make more great than that he did subdue;  
He safely might Old Troops to Battle lead,  
Against the unwarlike Persian, and the Mede;  
Whose hasty flight did from a Bloodless Field,  
More Spoil than honour to the Victor yield.  
A Race unconquer'd by their Glimme made bold,  
The Caledonian arm'd with Want and Cold,

119  
Have by a Fate more great to your Fame,  
Been from all Ages kept for you to name;  
Whom the old Roman Wall so ill confin'd,  
With a new Chain of Garrisons you bind:  
Here Foreign Gold no more shall make them come,  
Our English Iron holds them fast at home;  
They that henceforth must be content to know  
No warmer Region than their Hills of Snow;  
May blame the Sun, but must extol your Grace,  
Which in our Senate bath allow'd them place:  
Prefer'd by Conquest, happily ore thrown,  
Falling they rise, to be with us made One.  
So kind Dictators made, when they came home,  
Their Vanquish'd Foes, Free Citizens of Rome  
Like favour find the Irish, with like Fate  
Advanc'd to be a Portion of our State.  
Whilst by your Valour and obliging mind,  
Nations divided by the Sea are join'd:  
Holland to gain our Friendship is content  
To be our Outguard on the Continent;  
She from her Fellow Provinces would go,  
Rather than hazard to have You her Foe.  
In our late Fight, when Cannon did diffuse  
(Preventing Frost) the Terror, and the News,  
Our Neighbours they did tremble at the roar,  
But our Conjunction makes them tremble more.  
Your never failing Sword made War to cease  
And now you heal us with the Arts of Peace,  
Our minds with Bounty, and with Awe engage.  
Invite affection, and restrain our rage;  
Lest pleasure take brave minds in Battles won  
Then in restoring such as are undone;  
Tygers have Courage, and the rugged Bear  
But Man alone can when he Conquers, spare;  
To pardon willing, and to punish both.  
You strike with one hand, but You heal with both  
Lifting up all that prostrate lye, You grieve  
You cannot make the Dead again to Live.

When Fate or Error had our Rage misled,  
 And o're these Nations such confusion spread  
 The only cure that could from Heav'n come down,  
 Was so much Pow'r and Clemency in one;  
 One whose Extraction from a Noble Line  
 Gives hopes again that well born men may shine,  
 The meanest, in Your Nature, Mild and Good,  
 The Noblest, rest secured in your Blood,  
 Much have we wondered, how you hid in Peace  
 A mind proportion'd to such things as these,  
 How such a ruling Spirit you could restrain  
 And practice first over your self to reign;  
 Your private Life did a just pattern give  
 How Fathers, Husbands, Pious Men should Live;  
 Born to Command, your Princely Vertue slept,  
 Like humble David whilst the Flock he kept;  
 But when your troubled Countrey call'd you forth  
 Your flaming Courage and your Matchless worth,  
 Dazing the Eyes of all that did pretend  
 To fierce Contention gave a prosperous end:  
 Still as you rise the State Exalted too,  
 Finds no distemper whilst 'tis chang'd by you  
 Chang'd like the Worlds great Scene, when without  
 The rising Sun, Nights vulgar light destroys: (noise  
 Had you some Ages past this Race of Glory  
 Run, with amazement we should read the story;  
 But living Vertue, (All Achievements past)  
 Meets Envy still to grapple with at last.  
 This Caesar found and that ungrateful Age,  
 Which losing him, fell back to bloud and Rage.  
 Mistaken Brutus thought to break their Yoak  
 But cut the Bond of Union with that stroke;  
 That Sins once set, a thousand meaner Stars,  
 Gave a dim Light to Violence and Wars:  
 'Twas such a Tempest as now threatens all,  
 And not Your mighty Arm prevent the fall.  
 If Romes great Senate could nor wield the Sword,  
 Which of the Conquer'd World had made them Lord,  
 What hope had Ours, whilst yet your Power was new  
 To such Victorious Armys but by you;

You that had taught them to subdue their Foes  
 Could order, teach, and their high Spirits compose,  
 To every Duty could th'ere Minds engage,  
 Provoke their Courage, and command their Rage :  
 So when a Lyon shakes his dreadful main  
 And angry grows, if he that first took pain  
 To tame his Youth, approach the haughty Beast,  
 He bends to him, but frights away the rest  
 Then let the Muses with such Notes as these  
 Instruct us what belongs unto our Peace.  
 Your Battles they hereafter shall endure,  
 And draw the Image of our Mars in Fight,  
 Tell of Towns storm'd, of Armies over run,  
 And Mighty Kingdoms by your Conquests won ;  
 How while you thundred, Clouds of Dust did Choke  
 Contending Troops, and Seas lay hid in smok :  
 Illustrious Acts high Raptures do inspire,  
 And ev'ry Conqueror Creates a Muse:  
 Here in low Strains your milder Deeds we sing,  
 But then ( my Lord ) we'll Bays and Olive bring,  
 To Crown your Head, while you in Triumph ride  
 O're Conquer'd Nations, and the World beside ;  
 While all the Neighbour Princes unto you,  
 Like Josephs Sheaves, pay reverence and bow.

The Protector began his Reign with seeming serenity, and when the different parties in Religion made their Complaints to him against each other, he usually told them, ' That his power was no greater in the Nation than a Constable, which was to keep peace and quietness among all parties. And pursuant to the Power given him by the New Instrument, he supplied the several Courts at Westminster with the ablest Judges and Lawyers ; and the City of London, to shew their Concurrence to this great Change, invited the Protector to Dinner at Greeces Hall, Feb. 8. being Wednesday, the Streets were railed to Temple-bar, the Livery-men standing in their Gowns ; he was met at Temple-bar by Alderman Vynes Lord Mayor, who



delivered him the Sword, and receiving it again, bore it on Horse-back bare headed before him all the way. After a noble entertainment he was served with a Banquet; in the Conclusion whereof, he Knighted Sir Tho Vyner, and would have done the same to the Recorder Steel but he declined it.

The Hollanders being weary of the War, which they had maintained with little Success, and great cost, send Commissioners to treat with the Protector for a Peace between both Nations. But Cromwel knowing the potency of Holland above the rest, with their aversion to the House of Orange, he secretly treated with Beverning, That if the Province of Holland would sign a Private Article to exclude the House of Orange, he would be content to proceed in a Treaty of Peace; and at length the States of Holland and West Freizland were forced to make a Decree, That they would never Elect his present Highness William Prince of Orange (our present gracious Gracious Sovereign, then but 3 years Old) or any of his Lineage, to be Stadtholder or Admiral of their Province; nor, that he or any of this Family should be Captain General of the Forces of the United Provinces. This ingrateful and unrighteous Decree against that glorious Family, which had sav'd them from utter ruin, and made them the High and Mighty States, was too well performed, till some years after, the recalling it again, was the principal means, under God, of preserving them from the impending destruction of their Republick by the French Arms. So at length Peace was concluded both with the Dutch and the King of Denmark; The Hollanders to pay the Charge of the War, money being very necessary in this new Government; and in April it was proclaimed in London, the two Dutch Ambassadors making magnificent Treatments and Fireworks to demonstrate their satisfaction therein.

The Protector now sends his eldest Son Henry into Ireland, of which he was made Lord Deputy, and

Gen. Monk was sent into Scotland : The L. Whillock who was sent Ambassador, by the last Parliament, to the Q. of Sweeden, had a new Commission sent him from the Protector, in whose name he continued the Treaty with that Crown, and afterward finished it. In March following, Monsieur Bordeaux was sent Ambassador to England from the French King, and Sir Ant. Ash'y Cooper, Coll. Sydenham, and Mr. Strickland, were appointed Commissioners by the Protector to treat with him, so that he was owned abroad as well as at home. King Charles was then in the French Court, who finding that notwithstanding his own and his Mothers endeavours to the contrary, the Treaty between France and England was vigorously prosecuted by Card. Mazarine, and foreseeing that if the Peace were concluded, he and his party must be obliged to depart France, he thought it more honourable voluntarily to leave that Kingdom than to stay till he were forced out by a complement; so the King with his Brother the Duke of York, and his Cousins Prince Rupert and Edward, retired to Chavillon, a House of the Prince of Condes, from whence the King and P. Rupert went into Germany, and indeed it happened as they suspected, for one of the Articles of the French King with the Protector was That none of the Royal Family of England should reside in the Dominions of France.

In Feb. 1654. several persons were committed to the Tower about a Conspiracy against the Protector namely. Sir Gilb. Gerrard, Coll. John Gerrard his Brother, the E. of Oxford, Mr. Philip Porter, Mr. Vowel a School Master at Islington, and an High Court of Justice being erected, they were charged to design the Assassination of the Protector, so Coll. Gerrard and Mr. Vowel, were sentenced to be hanged, Mr. Vowel at Charing Cross and Coll. Gerrard was at Tower Hill, who expressly denied the imputation beheaded the Fact. With him upon the same Scaffold, but not upon the like account, suffered Don Pantaloon St.

Brother to the Portugal Ambassador then Resident in England, who upon conceals he had received some affront on the New-Exchange in the Strand, came thither one evening with a Crew of Lacquies and Servants armed with Pistols, Swords, and Hand Grana- does, and firing a Pistol, killed one Mr. Greenway standing quietly at a Stall, and had done further mischief, if this Coll. Gerrard had not stop'd their fury, and with his Sword drawn, drove them all down stairs. Upon hearing the matter the Protector relolv'd the murderers should suffer without respect of Person, and tho' the Person that committed the Murder was a Knight of Malta, and had made his escape, yet this Nobleman and the rest being accessaries, he and four of the Ambassadors Servants were tryed and found guilty, with an Irish youth. Don Pantalion was be-headed with Coll. Gerrard, the Irish Boy was hanged at Tyburn and the other four pardoned; and peace being after concluded with the K. of Portugal, the Ambassador sorrowfully departed.

In the same month a ship fell accidentally on fire on Southwark side, as she lay at Anchor, which being cut away, was driven by the Tyde upon a shelf near the bridge, where she stuck, and blew up her Powder; There were 2 Persons killed, one a Draper upon his Leads by a Plank of the Ship, and had the blow been any higher, it might have endangered the Bridge it self.

Sept. 3. 1654. The Protector in pursuance of the late Instrument of Government, called a Parliament at Westminster, where there was an appearance of a number of grave, judicious Persons, To whom he spake to this effect; That there was now such a hope that few could have thought of some years ago. That before the present Government was erected every man heart and interest seemed divided, and there was grown up a general Contempt of God and Christ; nay the Axe was laid at the root of the Ministry, and the King's Monarchy highly cryed up.

and there was nothing but Confusion in the Nation; swarms of Priests and Jesuits daily arriving, and fomenting Divisions against the publick Peace; that we were engaged in a War with Portugal, France and Holland, and the Nation was in a heap of Disorders; so that it was absolutely necessary a speedy remedy should be applyed thereto; which this Government had in a great measure done, by making good Judges, sending an able Ministry, calling a free Parliament, and making a Peace with Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Portugal, and very nigh with France; So he desired them to send Ireland, to avoid Confusion, and to lay the Top-stone of this great work of settling the Government, wherein he would willingly be a true Fellow-Servant to them.

After this Speech the Members repair to their House, and chose William Lenthall Esq; (Speaker of the late long Parliament) to be their Speaker: But the Protector Harvague did little edify the greater part of them; for they instantly fall upon a strict Enquiry into Cromwells Instrument of Government; and put the Question whether the Legislative Power, should be in a single Person or a Parliament. The Officers of the Army and the rest of the Protectors Party, argue strenuously, That this Instrument was the Foundation of the present Settlement, and ought not to be a Question; and one added, That if this Parliament did not confirm it, they would call another, a third and a fourth till it was done. This was as vigorously opposed by the Majority of the House; one Gentleman saying, That the Parliament could not but discern the Snare that were lay'd to destroy the Liberties of the People, and that as God had made him Instrumental in cutting down Tyranny in one Person, so he could not endure to see the Nations Liberties shackled by another, whose Right the Government was measured out, no otherwise than by length of his Sword, which was the only

thing that emboldened him to command his Commanders. Another said, That since we were so near approaching to Monarchy, it were better to call one of the Royal Family to the Government than that Cromwel should Usurp both the Scepter and Crown.

This toucht Cromwel to the quick, so he goes in a heat, and tells them, That these Debates would turn all to Confusion, that they were to build upon the Foundation of the Instrument of Government, not to overturn it. But his words not prevailing, the next morning he set a Guard upon the House of Commons, and none were permitted to enter but those that would subscribe a Recognition; to be faithful to the Protector, and not to consent nor endeavour to change the Government of a single Person and a Parliament, which many of the Republicans refusing, the Protection party within doors became near equal. But the secluded Republicans rather exasperated than subdued by this repulse, joyn with their Friends in the Army, and consult how to apprehend Cromwel, and bring him to Tryal for his Treason against the Commonwealth. But Cromwel discovered and prevented it by dissolving the Parliament, when they had sate just five Months.

This dissolution encouraged the most opposite parties to conspire against the Protector, that is, the fifth Monarchy Men and Royalists, the first expected King Jesus; or the erecting of a fifth Kingdom; the second longed for the Restoration of King Charles; and the Protectors Favourites desired King Oliver, and every party manifested their impatience, yet none of them could attain their wishes, but when Oliver might afterwards, yet he thought it not safe. The protector was not ignorant of their Designs, and resolved first to deal with the weakest, for finding this Military principle spread in the Army, he sent Gen. Harrison, Coll. Rich, Coll. Carew and Courteney Prisoners to remove Calles, and General

Monk had order to seize M. Gen. Overton, and Major Bramston, Holmes and other Officers, and cashier them. Overton was sent up prisoner to the Tower, and his Regiment given to Coll. Morgan, Coll. Okey's Regiment was given to the L. Howard; Cornet now Coll. Joyce was likewise dismissed, having reproached Cromwell to his face with his Services. And thus the danger from the Army was quickly suppressed.

But the design of the Royalists or Cavaliers, would have been more formidable, had not the whole contrivance been discovered to the Protector by one Manning, who was with K. Charles in Germany, and a Spy upon all his Actions; so that Cromwell knew the rise, progress and first appearance of those in Arms against him, without being surprized, though all the Gentlemen of that party in England, were one way or other engaged, or at least privy to it, but the seizing the principal of them throughout the Kingdom a little before the Execution, frustrated the probable effects of that Insurrection. The L. Mayor was sent for and acquainted with it, and the Militia seized, Skippon being made Major General: All Horse Races forbidden, and several dissolute persons were seized upon suspicion: Counter plots were used, all sorts of Ammunition being sent down to several Gentlemen's Houses, with Letters without Names, and the Gentlemen for not discovering them secured. Yet notwithstanding all these discouragements, the Western Association thought themselves engaged in honour to rise upon the day appointed, and which they had signified to K. Charles who was come from Colen to the Sea Coasts in order to have passed over to his friends with the first opportunity. Accordingly March 11. 1654. a party of 200 under Sir Jos. Wagstaff, Col. Penruddock and Grove march'd into Salisbury, where the Judges Rolls and Nicols were sitting at the Assize, and seized all their Horses, declaring the Cause of their appearance, without further



injury, or taking any Money, which lay in Sergeant Maynards and other Levys Chambers, promising to return and break their Balls with the Judges Provisions, which they did, and increased their number to 400 the whole City being well affected to them. Thence they marched to Blunsford, where Coll. Penraddock proclaimed the King in the Market place, and so marched Westward, Capt. Butler, with two Troops of Cromwells Horse, following at a distance in their Rear, to give them opportunity of increasing but by the Protesters taking up so many before, very few came in, and many deserted when they saw no hopes of the number of 4000 which was promised and expected.

Coll. Penraddock finding his affairs desperate, resolved to try Devonshire and Cornwall, and about 200 of the most resolute, without staying any where, came hungry, sleepy and weary, to Southmolton in Devonshire, hoping to get away by Sea; but that Night their Quarters were beaten up by Capt. Crook and some Houses forced, but Coll. Penraddock maintained his Quarters till he had Articled with the Captain, and then surrendered; with him were taken Col. Jones a Kinsman of Cromwells, Coll. Grove, and many other prisoners, with 120 Horse, but Sir Joseph Wagstaff, Mr. R. Mason, Esq, Clark, and Mr. Tho. Mompallion, escaped beyond Sea, and so this Rising was suppressd. There were some appearances of the like at Rufford Abby in Nottinghamshire, at Hassam-moor in Yorkshire, and in the Countie of Montgomery and Cumberland, for which some few were executed; but those weak efforts, came to nothing, and the King Restoration which was mightily expected at this time, proved unsuccessful. After which the K. discovered the Treachery of Manning upon this occasion: some Gentlemen going for England, came to Colen to take leave of the King at Colen, to whom the King wished a good Journey, and prosperity to their design; when they arrived in England, they were

were seized, and examined before the Protector's Council, whether they did not speak with the King such a Day, repeating at the same time what pass'd between them. Advice herenof being sent the King, he recollected that none but Coll. Tuke and Manning, who held the Candle were present at this passage: He declared the whole matter to the Collonel, who much surprized, protested his Innocency, and by the Kings command went directly to Mannings Chamber, and not staying opening the door forced it, and found him chewing of Papers, and a Packet by him newly come from Charles the Protector's Secretary; at which, Manning was so astonish'd, he could not speak a word. His Father was kill'd in the Kings service, and himself had been Secretary to the E. of Pembroke, and so was intrusted with the Kings secrets. At the instance of the whole Court, the King ordered him to be shot to Death, in one of the Castles of the Duke of Newburg. The Protector had drawn 4000 Foot from Ireland, and 600 Horse from Scotland, but upon quelling this Rising, they were re-manded. Coll. Penruddock, and Coll. Grove, were beheaded, and seven other persons were hanged at Exeter.

The Protector had been long preparing for some notable Enterprize, and every one fearing their own Sakes, could not guess whether this design tended: At length, those vast preparations produced two mighty Fleets, one under Gen. Blake, which was fitted only for the Sea, and sent to the Straights; the other, two months after, was committed to Gen. Pen who was to take aboard him an Army under Gen. Venables. These Land Forces being about 3000, were divided into 30 sail of Men of War, but had not provifions for so great An Army; the Commanders not knowing whither nor how far they were to go,

Dec. 12. 1654. This Fleet set Sail from Portsmouth directly to the Barbadoes, where the Generals break

open their Commissions, whither having a fair Wind, they arrived Jan. 29. and landed all their men in Carlisle Bay.

The departure of these two great Fleets, caused the King of Spain, who doubted they were designed against him, to send the Marquis de Leda Governor of Dunkirk, into England as Extraordinary Ambassador, to penetrate into this grand Court Secret, but having spent several days after his arrival, without receiving that satisfaction he desired, he returned back.

Whilst the Fleet was at Barbadoes, the Officers were diligent in their Charges, and caused the Shallops brought from England ready framed, to be set up, and the water Casks to be trimmed: Two Frigates are sent to St. Christophen and Nevis, to raise men to compleat their Regiments, and form Regiments out of the Seamen to serve upon occasion. At length, they ship'd 6000 men, and a Troop of Horse raised by the Barbadians at their own Charge, and sailing thence March 31. 1655. in 6 days arrived at St. Christophen, where they had a Regiment of 1300 Volunteers, most Servants to the Planters, who willingly engaged, because their Service went on, and they might after be as free as their Masters, so that tho' the Fleet was strengthened by seizing 20 Dutch Ships, trading there contrary to Articles, yet they were all full, tho' there were scarce provisions for half the number, if any accident should happen. From hence they steered for Hispaniola, and April 18. 1655. came in sight of St. Domingo, the principal Town, against which they chiefly designed. A Council of War being called, it was concluded, Venable should land his Forces, so next day he sent about 7000 Foot, a Troop of Horse, and three days provision, about ten Leagues West of the Town. The Soldiers were even ravished with hopes of the mountains of Gold they should obtain, which put universal Courage into the whole Army, so that there appeared

a certainty of Victory. But the General whether by order, or to engross all to himself, soon quell'd their expectations, making proclamation, That upon taking St. Domingo, no man should presume to plunder either money, plate or Jewels, or to take or kill any tame Cattle upon pain of Death. This defeated the whole design, the Souldiers being unwilling to endanger themselves, when there was no prospect of advantage; however they were obliged to march forward, tho' with much difficulty, passing through such thick woods that they were forced to cut their way, and could not find a drop of fresh water, so that with the drought caused by the excessive heat of the Sun, which even pierced their Brains, and their discontent of mind, (for sorrow is dry) most of them were faint and disabled.

Having in two days got thro' the woods, without opposition from the Spaniards, they at length joined Coll. Bullards Brigade, of the three Regiments of Foot, whom Adm. Pen had landed on the side of the Bay, a league from the Town, near a River of fresh water, being the appointed Rendezvous of the whole Body, which now consisted in 10000 men, but most so weak as hardly able to go, much less to fight, yet being joined they marched on, not doubting but to take the Town. A Forlorn Hope of 300 men, under Capt. Cox, the chief guide to this place, advanced first, after whom followed the whole Army; being within four miles of the Town, a small party of Horse encounter the Forlorn and in an instant force them thro' the next Regiment, which they likewise put to flight, and had slain most of them, but that the whole Army came up to their relief. After which the Spaniards marched back to their Port in good order, and with little loss, 50 English were slain, besides Capt. Cox their Guide.

The General hereupon retreats to the River, to refresh his men with water, resolving once more to attempt carrying the Town, causing feeling ladders to be

be made, and two small Drakes, with a Mortar-piece to be landed from the Fleet, and conveyed by water near the Town: All things prepared, they march forward, some Guides undertaking to carry them a private way out of danger of the Fort, but missing it they fall into the same path, and into worse mischief than before, for the Spaniards having notice of their march by the Negroes and Mulattos, resolved to entertain them in their passage, and April 25, the whole Army approaching near a brick Fort, having nine Cannon, and 300 men, they were suddenly charged by a Party hid among the Trees, who stood above 70, First fired a Volley of shot upon the Forlorn, and then flew in upon the English, already weary, and near choked with thirst, and with their Steel Lances routed in a Moment both them and the Generals Regiment, with near half the Army, who flying back into the Rear, possess them with such a pannick fear that every one shifted for himself, the Spaniards pursuing with great slaughter, finding no resistance but from Mr. Geo. Haines, who sold his Life at a dear rate, fighting in the midst of his Enemies; at length the Spaniards weary of killing, retreated with 7 English Colours. Of the English 600 were slain on the place, 300 wounded, and 200 fled into the Woods, and were knocked on the head by the Mulattos and Negroes.

Upon this disaster, the Army that Night drew up to the Spanish Fort, and planted a Mortar against it, all things being ready for a Battery, when on a sudden the Army was commanded to draw off, and without doing any damage, marched to their old watering place the Bay, where being arrived and wanting Victuals, they were forced to go out in parties to fetch it, some never returning being killed by the Negroes, till at last they by famine, eat the Horses of their own Troop. In this miserable State they continued some days at length it was resolved, they should all go aboard, and in ten days they arrived in the chief Port

of Jamaica, called Oristado, where they had better success, soon possessing the Town. And then the Army began to plant. This was the first planting of this gallant Island by the English, which has since grown so rich and populous, and they gained it the more easily, because at their landing it was resolved by a Council of War, that if any man turned his back to the enemy, his Bringer up should kill him. And the Spaniards having no intelligence of their intended overthrow at Hispaniola, nor suspecting any Hostility, fled at the approach of this formidable Army, and their Goods into the Woods, by a pretended Treaty with the English parties were sent to follow them, and to kill Cattle for the Army, of which they found store without fighting, to their great relief. Soon after the Generals Pen and Venables arrived in England, and the Protector in reward of their Services, committed them both prisoners to the Tower.

Gen. Blake who was sent to the Streights with a gallant Fleet, to scour the Seas of Turkish Pyrates, who had destroyed many English Ships, first seeks them out at Sea, but not finding them resolves to go home to them, and March 10. 1655. arrives at Algiers, Anchoring without the Mold, sends a Messenger to demand satisfaction of the Dey, for the depredations committed on the English, and requiring the delivery of the Captives of our Nation. The Dey providing a large present of Beef, Mutton, and other fresh provisions alive, returns the 8. Messenger with them, and this answer to the General, That the ships and Captives already taken belonged to particular men, and it lay not in his power to restore them without the General's discontent of all his subjects, yet the English Captives should be redeemed at a reasonable price, and that if the General thought good, they would conclude a Peace, and for the future offer no Act of Hostility, to any English Ships or Navies. This answer seeming satisfactory



intending to the General, the Captives were redeemed, and a peace concluded.

Gen. Blake still went to Tunis, sending a Summons to the Dey, but received a disobliging answer; for having secured their ships, as they imagined, under their Castles, they in scorn sent word, ' Here are the Castles of Goletta, and our Ships and Castles of Porto Ferino, do your worst, but do not think that we are affrighted at the sight of your Fleet. This reply exasperated the General and Seamen, and to be revenged a Council of being War called, it was resolved to burn the 9 Ships in Porto Ferino, which they effected; for every Ships boat being mann'd with resolute Mariners, were sent into the Harbour to fire the Ships, whilst the Admiral, Vice Admiral, Rere Admiral, &c. play broad sides continually on the Castle, to prevent their sinking the boats, who after a brave assault, burnt the ships, and return only with the loss of 24 men, and 48 wounded. This daring Action of Blake, resounded to the honour of the English Nation, as far as the Grand Signiors Court at Constantinople.

About this time Christina Queen of Sweden, to the Admiration of all Europe, resigned up the Crown and Kingdom to her Kinsman Carlos Gustavas, being contented from a mighty Princeess, to put her self into the condition of a Lady Errant, desiring only these conditions might be granted her from her Successor: 1. That she retain a good part of her Kingdom, and the Customs to her self. 2. That she will be no Subject, but absolutely free without controul. 3. That she will travel whether she please. To these Prince Charles made this reply, 1. That he would not be a King without a Kingdom. 2. That he will have no Rival nor Superior. 3. That he will not hazard himself about her designs abroad. However these differences were so accomodated, that she resigned her Kingdom, leaving to her self only the bear Title of Queen, but

to him both the Title of King and possession of a Kingdom. With this new King the Lord Whitlock, who had been some time Ambassador there, concluded a firm League Offensive and Defensive between these two Nations, the effects whereof had appeared in Christendom, had Cromwel lived much longer than he did.

The horrible Massacre committed at this time upon the Protestants in Piedmont and Savoy, by the Forces of that Duke under the Marquess of Parella, occasioned the Protector to appoint a Fast, and great sums of money were gathered in England, and remitted to Sir Sam. Morland for their relief.

About this time happened an Accident that had been to have put a Period to his Protectorship and life together. Being much troubled with the Stone, he used to drink a quantity of several sorts of Liquor, and then stir his body by some Violent kind of Motion, as riding hard on Horseback, or Jolting in a Coach, by such Agitation to disburden his Bladder. So one day he and his Secretary Thurloe went privately by themselves to use this exercise in a Coach in Hyde Park. When they were come thither, Cromwel himself got up into the Coach box, drawn by 6 stout Horses, lately presented him by the Count of Oldenburgh, a German Prince. But so soon as he began to snap his Whip, the Horses run away, and the Postilion who was to guide them, being thrown off the fore Horse, they fall a fretting, and grow unruly; and not knowing their Master, toss the new Driver from his Seat upon the Pole, who falling from thence upon the ground, and being intangled in his Coar was dragged up and down, having received many bruises, and a Pocket Pistol going off in his Pocket, his Coar was rent, and he was in the very jaws of Death; but a Troop of Guards that waited without the Gate, hastening to his assistance preserved his life.

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The Protector to secure himself from insurrection  
constituted a new kind of Officers, called Major Gene-  
rals of Counties, dividing the Kingdom into eleven  
parts; For Kent and Surrey Coll. Kelsey; for Sussex,  
Hampshire and Berkshire, Coll. Goff; for Wilt, Glo-  
cester, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, Coll.  
Desborow; for Oxfordshire, Bucks, Hartford, Cam-  
bridge, Isle of Ely, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk, Lt.  
Gen. Floorwood; for the City of London, M. Gen.  
Shippon; for Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, War-  
wick and Leicestershire, Commissary Gen. Whaley;  
for Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, and Hunting-  
ton, Maj. Butler; for Worcester, Hereford, Salop and  
North Wales, Coll. Berry; for Cheshire, Stafford  
and Lancashire, Coll. Worley; for Durham, Cam-  
berland, York, Westmoreland and Northumberland,  
Lord Lambert; for Westminster and Middlesex,  
Coll. Barkshead Lieut. of the Tower. The greatest  
service they did was to oblige Delinquents to pay in  
the Tenth of their Estates for old Offences, and in-  
fluence of Elections of Parliament men, but in a short  
time he dismiss'd them again.

Another design of the Protectors was the admission  
of the Jews into England, for which it was said they  
offered 200000 l. So he proposes it to several Judges  
and Ministers many arguments were used for and  
against it, several places of Scripture cited, and divers  
Conferences held about it, with Dr. Manton, Mr. Jen-  
kyns and others, who yet were not satisfied with the  
Arguments of Manasseh Ben Israel the Jewish Agent,  
though the Protector alledged, ' That since there  
was a promise for their conversion, means must be  
used to that end, which is the preaching of the  
Gospel, and that cannot be had unless they be per-  
mitted to reside where the Gospel is preached;  
but in conclusion, the publick re-admission of them  
was laid aside, as a thing decided both by the Cler-  
gy and Laity,

The Spaniards having intelligence of the arrival of the English at Hispaniola, and their possession of Jamaica, thought this a sufficient breach of the peace (though there was never any peace made with that King beyond the Line, he always taking all English Ships he could meet with and master that Traded there) and seized all the Merchant persons and Goods then in Spain, so that the War begins to grow hot both in the old and new World. The Protector thereupon orders the Generals Blake and Montague, to block up Cadiz the chief Port Town of that Kingdom, and whither the Plate Fleet used yearly to come. He likewise concludes a peace with France (which was at Wars with Spain along time) by the Interest of Cardinal Mazarine, the French King (as you have heard) banishing all the Royal Family of England (except the Queen Mother) out of his Dominions, at the desire of Cromwel, and by the Instigation of that Cardinal.

The English Fleet under Montague and Blake, had for some months in a manner Besieged Cadiz by Sea, but could by no provocation oblige the Spaniards to fight them, who hoping that the English having suffered the Fatigue of the Sea, would be forced to depart for want of provisions, thought it better policy to lose a little honour, rather than to venture either Men or Ships, against those who had maintained such terrible Sea fights against the Hollanders; but the English found in Meyers Bay in Portugal, a convenient supply of Water and Provisions, which was much nearer than was imagined. Hither were the Generals gone for fresh water and provisions, having only left a Squadron of 7 ships under Capt. Stainer, before the Port of Cadiz, to observe all ships passing in or out; as they were thus plying for some days, it happened that a stiff gale of Wind forced Capt. Stainer out to Sea, where he espied part of the R. of Spains Plate Fleet, coming from the West Indies, and making directly for Cadiz; he was somewhat to the Leeward

word, but made up toward them with all the sail possible, and after some hours with much labour the Captain to the Speaker, with the Bridgewater and Plymouth Frigates, got up to them, the other 4 ships not being able to come up, and presently engaged them; the Spanish Fleet consisted in 8 tall Ships or Gallies, yet in a short time they were wholly spoiled, one was sunk, three burnt, two ran ashore and were halged, one escaped, and two fell into the hands of the English, one whereof had a great quantity of Cloths, wear and Plate in her, the other were chiefly laden with Hydes. In these Ships many persons of Quality were taken, and among others the 2 Sons of the Marquis of Badajoz, who had been Governour of Peru, and having gain'd a great Estate in New Spain, was now returning to live the remainder of his days in his own Country, he, and his Wife and Daughter were burnt in one of the Ships, of which, and the War with Spain, with the present Victory, hear what the Poet Laureat at that Age elegantly sings:

*Upon the War with Spain, and a Victory  
Sea.*

NOW for some Ages had the pride of Spain  
Made the Sun shine on half the World in vain  
Whilst she bid War to all that durst supply  
The Place of those her Cruelty made dye,  
Of Natures bounty men forbore to tall:  
And the best portion of the Earth lay wast;  
From the New World, her Silver and her Gold,  
Came like a Tempest to confound the Old,  
Feeding with these the brib'd Electors hopes,  
Alone she gave us Emperors and Popes:  
With these advancing her unjust designs,  
Europe was shaken with her Indian Mines.  
When our Protector looking with disdain,  
Upon this gilded Majesty of Spain,

And knowing well that Europe's main defence,  
Whose chief support and sinews are of Gold,  
Our Nations solid Virtue did oppose,  
To the rich Troublers of the Worlds repose.  
And now some Months incamping on the Main,  
Our Naval Army had besieged Spain;  
They that the whole Worlds Monarchy design'd,  
Are to their Ports by our bold Fleet confin'd,  
From whence our Red Cross they Triumphant see,  
Riding without a Rival on the Sea.  
Others may use the Ocean as their Road,  
The English only make it their aboad,  
Whose ready Sails with every wind can fly.  
And make a Covenant with the unconstant Sky.  
Our Oaks secure as if they there took root;  
We tread on Billows with a steady foot:  
Mean while the Spaniards in America,  
Near to the Line the Sun approaching saw,  
And hoped their European Coasts to find,  
Clear'd from our Ships by the Autumnal wind.  
Their huge capacious Gallions studd'd with Plate,  
The labouring winds drive slowly to their fate.  
Before St. Lucar they their Guns discharge,  
To shew their Joy and to invite a Barge:  
This heard some ships of ours (though out of view)  
As swift as Eagles to the Quarry flew.  
So harmless Lambs, that for their Mother bleat,  
Wake hungry Lyons, and become their Meat.  
Arriv'd they soon begin their Tragick play,  
And with their smoaky Cannon banish day;  
Night, horror, slaughter, with confusion meets,  
And in their sable Arms embrace the Fleets:  
Through yielding Planks the angry Bullets fly,  
And of one wound hundreds together dye:  
Born under different Stars one Fate they have,  
The Ship their Coffin and the Sea their Grave.  
Bold were the men, that on the Ocean first,  
Spread their new Sails, when shipwrack was the worst.

More



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More danger now from men than war: find  
That from the Rocks the Willows and the Wind.  
They that hid'd from near the Antarctic Pole,  
Their Treasures safe, and all their Vessels whole,  
In sight of their dear Country ruin'd be,  
Without the guilt of either Rock or Sea:  
What they would save, our fiercer art destroys,  
Surpassing storms in terror and in noise.  
Once Jove from Ida did both Hosts survey,  
And when he pleas'd us Thunder part the fray.  
Here Heav'n, in vain, that kind retreat would sound,  
The louder Cannon had the Thunder drown'd.  
Some were made prize, while others burnt & rent,  
With their rich loading to the bottom sent;  
Down sink at once: No Fortune with us sports,  
The Pay of Armies and the Price of Courts.  
Vain man whose rage huries a law that store  
As Avarice had digg'd for it before,  
What Earth in her dark bowels could not keep  
From greedy hands, lies later in the Deep,  
Where Thems kindly cloth from Morals hide;  
Those seeds of Luxury, debate, and pride.  
And now, into our hands, the richest prize  
Falls with the nobles of our Enemies;  
The Marquis, glad to see the fire destroy  
Wealth the prevailing Foe was to enjoy,  
Out from his flaming Ship his Children sent,  
To perish in a milder Element,  
Then laid him by his burning Ladies side,  
And since he could not save her, with her dy'd:  
Spices and Gums about them melting fry,  
And Phoenix like in that rich Nest they dye  
Alive in flames of equal love they burn'd,  
And now together into Ashes turn'd,  
Ashes more worth than all their funeral cost.  
Than the huge Treasure that with them was lost.  
These dying Lovers and their floating Son,  
Suspend the fight, and Silence all our Guns;

Beau

# Oliver Cromwell.

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Henry and Thomas about to perish, find  
 each noble ray in brave English minds,  
 That they the poor neglected, and the poor,  
 All labour now to live their Country:  
 How frail's our passion? How how changes are  
 Our wrath and fury to a friendly care  
 They that but now for honour and for Place  
 Made the Sea bleed with blood, forget their hate  
 And while their Foes from perishing they strive,  
 With greater danger than they fought they live  
 With them, return Victorious Monarchs,  
 With Laws in his hands, and half the  
 Let our brave Generals drive the  
 Our great Promises with warm words  
 A Conquering Head hath no more Room for Rays:  
 Then let it be as the whole Nation prays,  
 For the rich Our Foes will be smothered down  
 And the State Exalt by making him a Crown  
 With Purple cloth'd and Ermine let him hold  
 A Royal Scepter made of Spanish Gold.

The Protector was highly pleased at this success,  
 and gathering on a day of Thanksgiving was  
 caused for it, and soon after Charles Stuart, with  
 the young Marquess, & part of the Fleet to convey the  
 Fleet, which amounted to two millions of pieces of  
 money, returned into England, and delivered the  
 Fleet into the King, and the young Marquess and  
 his brother were set at Liberty. But the Spanish  
 War being like to prove chargeable notwithstanding  
 his Supply, the Protector being that he intended for  
 money, and desiring to have his power confirmed on  
 him by the People, in hope a new Representative  
 might grant him what the former denied, he issued  
 writs for the Election of a new Parliament, where  
 much discipline was used, it being possible to  
 prevent some of the former House from being cho-

Sept. 27-1648. This Parliament met at Westminster, and had a Sermon preached before them at the Abbey Church. After Sermon the Members went to the House, but found at the Door a Guard, and an Officer standing with a List in his hand, demanding the Names of every one, and such as were marked for non admittance were turned back, and a protest imposed upon every individual member before he should be permitted to sit in the house. That he would say all any thing prejudicial to the present Government; which many refused, and remained home but the Members assenting to it, carried the House and chose Sir Tho. Waldrington Speaker, and he ordering those that were Excluded, referred the propositions of them to the Protectors Council. They then proceed according to the Propositions before making an Act dissolving the Treaty of Charles Stuart to the Government of these these Nations, Nations Contradictory: another for making it Treason for any to attempt, compass, or imagine the Protector dead and appointing such Offenders to be tried not by a Jury of twelve sufficient men, but by a High Court of Justice; a third for an Afflictment on England, Scotland and Ireland; £700000. per Month during years; as also for preventing multiplicity of buildings, as well the houses about London, a whole years Respite as to paid for all dwellings or other houses, voided since the new foundation Year 1610. An Act for Restraining Merchandize Imported: An Act for settling the price of live at high rates, and have no visible Effect; and lastly, for the observation of the Lords day. When these Acts were ready for signing, the Protector came to the Printed Chamber and sent for the Parliament where the Speaker holding them to him, as the signing them he looks on.

Mr. Speaker, I perceive that among these new Acts of Parliament there hath been very great order had by the Parliamt as to provide for the just and necessary support of the Common weal, by the

I have given my consent unto; and understanding that hath been the Practice of those who have been chief Governors, to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons, their care and regard of the Publick, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their Kindness herein.

Let us now relate a daring attempt performed by Gen. Blake about this time. This valiant Commander, being with his Fleet near Cadix, had notice that the Spanish West India Fleet was put into the Port of Bayona in Tuscany the chief Men of the Carracks of the Fleet were 10, and April 20 they came to the mouth of Santa Cruz Bay, where they saw 10 Spanish Ships lying almost like an half moon. At the Mouth of the Haven is a Castle furnished with Cannon, which, from more, with 2, 4 and 6 Guns, which being the strongest fort, was dangerous, if not impossible: Don Diego D'Aquila had sent all the small ships to be ranged along the shore to secure them, and the 6 great Gallies lay further off at Anchor, their head Sides towards the Sea. Blake perceiving all this, calls a Council of War, where it was resolved to attack them without any notice of danger: Capt. Stanley in the *Speaker*, presently sets upon the first, disregarding the number of that which were standing from the Port on every side to attack and maintain poor an hour fight till the Generals, Blake and Monmouth, having ordered some frigates to ply the Port and Breast works with cannon Broad sides, came up and with all their force attack'd the Spaniards, who after a short gallant resistance, were driven out of their Ships, which they could not bring away, and so were forced to burn 15 small and great. The gallant attack of the English set off men and sea wounded. The Spaniards lost, the loss of their whole Fleet, had several hundred men slain on the shore, and in the ships and works, besides those killed in the ships.

For this notable exploit, the Protector by order of Parliament, sent a Diamond Ring worth 1000 L. in Present to G. Blakeney, and that same Blakeney was led on the 11th September, 1648. in his return for this and his former Services, Knighted by the Protector.

At this time one Miles Syndercomb, an Officer formerly in Scotland under M. Gen. Overton, was seized, & accused to design to take away the life of the Protector, in combination with a disguised Person said to be a Priest sent from Don Alonso in Flanders, who was engaged a prisoner. It was alleged that several houses were taken to fire at the Protector, with Gunpowder, Musketballs, and other Fire arms in his going to the Parliament, on the way to Hampton Court, and that the Chapel at White Hall was so fired with a strong combustible matter. This accused Secretary Thurlow, directed to the Parliament a petition moving Terms, that the House order a day of Thanks giving, and a Narrative of the Plot to be published, and that in a Body to congratulate His Highness happy Deliverance, where Sir Tho. Widdrington, a Member, declared, \* 1. The danger and misery the Reformed Churches abroad, and that that were here, who were struck at by this blow: \* 2. The burning Treachery of it, that no other man should be guilty to this wicked design: \* 3. The unconquench of it, resolving if they lived in one place, to do it in another, so that if Cicero were living, he would want expeditions to set out the danger and misery, and it being an unparalleled and more unprecedented a deliverance, the Parliament it ought to be, O Cantemus Canticum Novum, O let us sing a new Song unto the Lord, bless his Name from forth this day, for he hath done marvellous things, His right hand, and his Holy arm hath gotten him the Victory.

Syndercomb, the next Terms, was by the direction of the Parliament, tried for this Treason at the Old



When Mr. Hasbrouck the Pilot, had the pleasure  
 of being positively asked him, he was directed up  
 to the House of Commons, & Justice was done  
 by the King's Goodness my Chief Justice  
 of the Nation. He was carried thence to the Tower,  
 where the day before his Execution, it was suppo-  
 sed he poisoned himself, as the Catholics say, and  
 that he still preserved well his health, until an  
 hour before his execution, when he was seized  
 by the executioners, and during the time he was  
 being taken down, he said, that the good  
 Lord, who brought him down, would bring his body  
 down alive, was tied with his head to the guil-  
 lotine, and decapitated the next day at Tower Hill, where  
 he was buried, and a stake covered with Iron at Top  
 driven into his Body.

Many of the Quakers were now grown more  
 free, among whom was called James Naynor, who  
 was in his conscience not dissatisfied, and was  
 of great use, and being his hand and feet made  
 free, he was allowed to converse with the Black Sa-  
 vers, and had Daughters and Women ministering unto  
 him, who had formerly offered several expressions of





the most known and most agreeable Government  
 was chosen by several of the Princes and  
 Clergy, and April 9. the Parliament having de-  
 clared a meeting with him, came to the Banquet  
 House in White Hall, where the Speaker uttered  
 the Title and Office of a King, as being suited to  
 the Nation, with Christianity it was approved by our  
 Religion, and consistent with our Laws and the con-  
 sideration of the People, and then presented him the Model  
 of their humble Petition and Advice to that purpose.  
 His Majesty, in answer thereunto, said, "Mr. Speak-  
 er, this is a weighty matter, and therefore I desire  
 space to seek God, the Charge that you shall lay  
 upon me being too heavy for me to bear without his  
 assistance, for the English are the best People in  
 the world, and require all tenderness and consid-  
 eration whatsoever, to be used for preserving their  
 liberties and properties."

The next day a Committee of 6 or 7 of their num-  
 ber was appointed to wait upon him, and answer his  
 Questions and Objections, which were, That the Ti-  
 cle of a King was the Name of the Office of a Supreme  
 Magistrate, to which that of Protector might be ac-  
 commodated with out a Change. That Providence  
 had laid by the Title of King after a long War,  
 That it was dangerous to alter the Government again  
 from a Common-wealth to a Monarchy. That it  
 would be disliked by many of the good People of the  
 Nation, as well as by the Army and People who had  
 revolted against a King.

To this they replied, That the Name of King had  
 been in use in this Nation for above 1200 years past.  
 That the Person had sometimes abused the People,  
 but the Title never; That the Law was of old there in  
 and that it was accommodated to the Count of the  
 People, and approved also. That by retaining the  
 Title of King he did not so much derogate from his  
 Authority from the Nation, whose honour it was to be  
 governed by a King. That the supreme Magistracy was

being designed by the Name of Prince, but that when  
the Company is full, it has an annual General Conference,  
wherein the Bishops, together with the Tale of Priests  
and Clergy are chosen in the Holy Text, which these  
good men who were tender Consciences might witness,  
and being so well principled in Godliness, might  
learn from them a subjection to Authority under a  
King's Government. But the strongest Arguments of  
all was, The Power of the Law of God, and the  
Justice, whereby it was enacted. That no man  
should be a King, though he might be the King of France,  
Italy, or of Spain, if he should be crowned for a  
while, without that he was not King in Justice, or that  
he had no Right in the Crown; and that in the late  
Wars, when breaking to that Law, were so done for  
the King's sake, those that loved his Cause, and  
the Providence had now brought about Affairs, so as  
it seemed absolutely necessary for his Highness to com-  
ple the same.

These and many other Arguments were at length  
presented and urged to him; but Cromwell finding the  
inclinations of some of the People, and especially of  
some Officers and Soldiers were to the Tale of King  
which they had so lately renounced; and knowing  
it would be the worst if he might forfeit his Tale it would  
be to his dishonour, who required 200000 pounds a  
year for the supply of his Government, besides the  
charges of the Spanish War. He therefore sent for  
the Parliament to the Banqueting House at White  
Hall, May 8. following, and his eldest Son Richard  
(afterward Cromwell) being among them, the old  
Story was which they recounted, having overpowered  
by weight both with them, so that many fell down  
in the Church to cheer England's Arms, among the  
rest Richard being grievously wounded by a shot  
that killed him, and one was thought by some to be a pre-  
sent of his Tale from his Father's Law.

And now the Parliament gives them his full and  
sole Authority. That he had and every thought

But what they had to be satisfied upon. That it was necessary for him, to take upon him the Title of King and that this he did with all honour and respect as becoming a Prince, but so private a judgement is to live in the ballance with the judgement of a Parliament; yet without respecting particular Persons, every man must give an account to God of his Actions; and that if he should comply with them, it would be dangerously to his soul, and to our Faith, and consequently to our Liberty. That this he thought, however he consisted of many excellent parts, to do, but the title as a King, yet his heart was not an honest man, if he did not tell them. That he could not undertake this Government with the Title of King, and this was an answer to this great and weighty business.

The Royal Party were much disappointed with this Answer, they being extremely desirous that Cromwell should take the Title of King. For the argument might seem to prejudice the Right of King Charles to the Crown, and the several things were then said by the discourse of against his Interest, as that he was Consumptive, and could not live long, that he was Melancholy, and inclined to a Monkish life, and to the Popish Religion, and had lost all thoughts of doing of Government, and silly that the Duke of York his younger Brother was a professed Papist, and all this was supposed to allay the Peoples affection from him. Yet his friends were of opinion that if Cromwell were once advanced under the Title, and the Monarchy thereby restored; the Controversy for the future would only be, Whether King Charles or King Oliver should reign.

The Protector having refused the Title of King, the Committee of Settlement was ordered to prepare an Explanatory Act of the former Instrument of Government, when he came to the Protectorship in 1653. (which is before inserted;) And the Parliament having Voted, That the Protector should be the Title of the chief Magistrate, they desired a conference

with Cromwel in the House of Commons, on the 15th of May, 1657, where Sir John Waller, then Speaker, presented him with the Mould of his House of Commons, under the Title of The *Pardon and Advice*. Which being read, the Protector made a Speech to signify his unwillingness to undertake so great a burden which was too heavy for any humane Creature to bear without the Almighty's Support; and called God to witness that nothing could have induced him to have undertaken it, had it not been determined by the Parliament to make thereby for the Liberty and Interest of the Nation, and the preservation of him in that God.

The next day the Protector into a Law, & June 16. was appointed for the solemn Investiture, a Place being prepared at Westminster Hall. At the upper end were two Chairs for one for the Protector, the other for the Speaker. The Members of Parliament, Aldermen of London, and other Persons of Note, sat on each side, on the Benches built for them. All being ready the Protector came out of a Room adjoining to the Lords House, and in that order proceeded into the Hall: First went his Gentlemen, then as Herald, the Attorney General, then the Judges, and then Major-General Ainslie the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury. He was carried by Commissioners First then Gentlemen, and after him the Earl of Warwick with the Sword borne before the Protector, preceded; the Lord Mayor Trenchard carrying the City Sword at his left hand; Behind seated in the Chair, on the left hand stood the Lord Mayor and the Dutch Ambassador, and on the right hand the Earl of Warwick and the French Ambassador, next behind him stood his Son Richard, L. Fleetwood, L. Cleveland, and the privy Council; upon a lower degree stood the Lords Medwade and Willoughby with drawn Swords.

Then the Speaker in the Name of the Parliament, presented him several diamonds on the Table, which were

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were a Robe of Purple Velvet, a Bible, a Scepter, and a Sword, on each of which the Speaker made a short Comment as he delivered them.

1. The Robe of Purple: This is an Emblem of Majesty, and imports Righteousness and Justice; when you have put on this Vestment, I may say you are Governed. This Robe is of a mixt Colour, to show the mixture of Justice and Mercy; indeed a Magistrate must have two heads, Wisdom & Amplestment, to cherish and to punish.

2. The Bible is a Book that contains all the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well versed. This Book of Life consists of two Testaments, the Old and New, the first shows Christian Velours, the second, Christian Reformation, Christ Veiled and Reveiled: It is the Book of Books, and contains both Precepts and Examples for good Government.

3. Here is a Scepter, not such a Staff to the weak and poor, it is of ancient use in this kind. It's said in Scripture, That the Scepter shall not depart from Judah: It was of the like use in other Kingdoms however. The Greek Poet calls Kings and Princes Scepter-bearers.

4. The last thing is a Sword, not a Military but Civil Sword rather of defence than of war, not to defend your self only, but your People also. If I might compare to this a Story upon this sword, as the Valiant Lord Yabot did upon his, it should be this, Ego sum Dominus Protectoris ac propugnatoris populi mei, I am the Lord Protector's to protect my People.

After this the Speaker resumed again to the Chair, and administered the Oath to the Protector in these following words.

**I**n the presence, and by the Name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that to the uttermost of my power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, of the  
Old



Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my power, and encourage the profession and profession of the same, and that to the uttermost of my power, I will endeavour, as chief Magistrate of these three Nations, the maintenance and preservation of the Peace and Unity, and full Right and Privilege of the People thereof, and that in all things according to my best knowledge and power, govern the People in their wisdom according to Law.

The Oath being administered, Dr. Williams made a Prayer, then a Herald stood up, giving signal to a Trumpeter to sound three times, after which, he did by Authority and Direction of Parliament, publish & perform his Speech, as Lord Protector of the Common wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, requiring all persons to give him due obedience. This Proclamation ended, the Trumpets again sounded, and some Soldiers and others cried out, God save the Lord Protector: Then he was again proclaimed by an Officer of Arms standing on the Rains. The Ceremony ended, the Protector attended by all the Officers of State, went into the Palace Yard in his Coach, where entering his Coach, he returned in Soave to White Hall.

This year an Insurrection was designed by those called Fifth Monarhy men who had directed themselves in an Inn in Shore Church, several of them being discontented Persons, Officers of the Army, they appointed to rendezvous on the end of June, and to march into other Counties to augment their party. At length they were seized, and some Arms and Ammunition taken with them, and a Standard with a Lyon Cruciant, with the Motto, who shall raise him up? The men taken were Verner, a Wine Cooper, with three Scribe Grey, Guler, Hopkins, Allens and others: About them was read a Declaration in Print called, The principles of the Fifth Monarhy, they were committed to prison, but after released without prosecution. Likewise M. Gen. Waller, L. Waller, Rich and

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and himself were seized at Dismalton. About this time the victorious Gen. Blake returning from the Coast of Spain, fell sick of the Scurvy and Dying, and eyed just entering Plymouth Sound; probably inquiring for Land; he was buried with an handsome Funeral from Greenwich, and interred in St. Peter's Chapel at Westminster.

The Promise to keep the Dutch employed every where, makes a League with the French, whereby it was agreed, That Cromwell should send 4000 Foot into Flanders which the French extraordinary was to be paid by the French King. And that the French King should be obliged, was to be delivered up to the English, That Charles Stuart, late King of England with all his Country and Family should be banished out of France, lest he might any way still the Enemy.

In performance hereof, May 4. 1653. three Banners arrived in Picardy, and joined with their Forces commanded by the Marshal Turenne, to which the English was the more induced, because the K. of Spain had invited King Charles into his Dominions, since the breach with England, and he was then at Brussels full of expectation of being restored by the power of that King, and the Marquis of Ormond, the L. William, the Lord Gerard and Widdoworth, the L. Taft, and Gen. Middleton, had their several Regiments quartered about the Sea Coast in order to a Descent, the Duke of York and Gloucester, had likewise committed to Flanders, Sir John Reynolds one of Cromwell's Kinsmen, formerly Commissary Gen. of the Army in Ireland, was Gen. of the English Forces, and they rendezvoused at Black Heath, where Ralph Peckham gave them a Sermon for encouragement and were shipped with a ready pay in hand, and all new and

In September, the French and English Forces advanced into the Spanish Territories, and according to

agreed to lie down before Mundike, a strong Redoubt, and put themselves between it and Dunblow. Don Juan, riding before the Splinter with a Fleet of War, and without long delay a continued Battery made the Besieged quit the Wooden Fort, which so besetted them when taken by the English, that they were obliged to yield to Mercy. They did not allow the other Terms because they had gained the first Offer: Mundike was put into the hands of the English in consideration of our Assistance, and Coll. Morgan took possession thereof with several Regiments, when the Spaniards took their advantage to remove, by a sudden and fierce Assault, when the Armies were drawn into Winter Quarters. Being only a mile from Dunblow, they were so near it might endanger the Town. Whereupon Don John of Austria resolved to make a Scale and Attack by Night: the D. of York and the Marquis of Caracena managed the business, and E. Charles and the D. of Gloucester, had conveyed themselves into Dunblow to observe the issue of it. Oct. 22. 4000 English, Scots, Irish, and some Spaniards about ten at Night, began to march Mundike with hand Grenadoes, and some Engines proper for an Assault, and were got into the Trenches, and had secured the Scaling Ladders, but the English within being ready to receive them, commanded by Reynolds, Morgan and Lillingstone, the Assault was with great slaughter repulsed. The Cannon in the same time, from the English Fleet in the Splinter, firing their broadsides upon them, being directed by 4 great Torches set up in the 4 corners of the Fort, how to avoid damaging it. Yet about 4 in the morning, the D. of York commanded the Assault to be renewed, which was done with great fury but to no little advantage as before. In the day light approaching they were forced to retreat, carrying away the dead in Waggons, judged to be some hundreds.

Since force would not prevail, the Duke designed

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to make this important place by stratagem, employing a Dutch Knight, well acquainted with Gen. Reynolds, to represent to him the advantages he might obtain by serving the King, & promoting the Restoration, which it should be proved, that Reynolds agreed to give the Duke a meeting betwixt Dunkirk and Mardike, with a Party of Horse on either side. At their approach, Reynolds showed much respect to the Duke, and some private discourses passed between them, which were never made publick, and then the General returned to the Fort, and the Duke to Dunkirk. The Protector having intelligence of this interview, dispatched away a Messenger to command Reynolds to London, to be, with Coll. Waller, and the Generall Secretary, using the first Ship that was ready venture to go off in a Dutch Pinnace of 100 Tons in a stormy Night, Dec. 12. (a Frigate offering to wait upon him the next morning) but were all cast away on the beach of the Goodwin Sands, his Chief, Sword and Bag being found, and Colonel Morgan commanded in his place.

There now happened Wars between the two Northern Crowns, and the Danes having attacked Breiten Warden a strong place, and seized it, the Protector sent Sir Ph. Medowes, Envoy to the K. of Denmark, and Coll. Jephson to the K. of Sweden, then journeying out of Poland, where he was engaged in War likewise, to meet Sir Ph. Medowes. They were both well received, and during this Mediation the Protector sent supplies of 2000 Men and arms to his Ally the K. of Sweden.

Mean while the Protector at home was following his Privy Council, pursuant to the humble Petition and Advice, and his Son Richard was made one, and also Chancellor of Oxford: his Son Henry L. Deputy of Ireland, and his Son in Law Fleetwood, was appointed to be L. Commissioner of England, where Gen. Monk at present commanded. He likewise, in this Interval of Parliament, made choice of several Persons

as well as the other House of Lords of Great Britain (consisting of Bishops, and the Peers and Aliens) being in Minority, among them were some few of the Nobility, as the Duke of Warwick and Gloucester, the Viscounts Falkland and Howard, the Duke of Devon, Wharton, Albemarle, Rivers, Arlington, Vere, &c. &c. who were Knights; but several Collators of the Order of Knights being mingled with them, as Philip Hewitt, Cooper, Whalley, &c. many of the rest declined to appear at all.

When the Parliament met again after their adjournment, the Protector sent a Commission to the House of Commons, and made a peculiar Speech to them, concluding, That if they would go on to prosecute what they had begun, they should be called, the Relief of the Lord, and the Generation to come should bless them. Then L. Fienes, Commissioner of the Great Seal, gave them an account of the Deficiencies of the Supply granted last Session, to the Expense and necessities of the State. The Commons then returned to their House, and the other House (as it was called) sent them a Message about keeping a Fast, to which they assented. They would consider of it, they then (according to Article 4. of the Petition and Answer, which says, That no Member being chosen, should be excluded from performing his Duty, but by consent of Parliament) proceeded to sit over and reading the Petition formerly presented by the Protector, with great discontent. The House being now full began now to fight the other House, being a Power created by a part of Parliament, which ought not to have a Negative voice over the Representatives of the Commons of England; and question the Protector's Power in Calling and Authorizing them to sit by an House of Peers; What say they, were we fought to Depose the Representative Council, the Lords, the Bishops of Tyranny, who Laid it over the Freeborn People of England, and made us turn to their Creatures of Courtiers sole Creation, to usurp the Name

Tyranny over us and the Free Denizens of the Kingdom. The Protestants with their bold Speeches, and doubting the right of Charles to the Commons Feb. 4. 1653. and the House of Peers, and sitting under the Chair of State, made a long Speech, and in conclusion said that, "that it did concern the Interest, as well as the Liberty and Trinquillity of the Nation, to deliver the Parliament from the usurpation of an evil Prince, and to deliver the Commonwealth to the good." This was the fourth Parliament he had dissolved having named the first Parliament, the Little Parliament, the second the Short Parliament, and the present Justice. It was full of the great men which were commonly Cromwell himself, "That the first was called but not chosen. The second did just nothing: and the third nothing at all."

The Royalists now make another attempt for restoring Charles, of which the Protestants had intelligence by his Ecclesiaries, so that when the design was ripe for execution, he published a Proclamation for all Cavaliers to depart 20 miles from London and Westminster, and the Marquis of Ormond, who was personally concerned in the Intrigue, with many dissenting others were seized, at Colchester, Sir W. Clouston, Mr. Mordaunt, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Henry presbyter at St. George's by St. Pauls, Mr. Woodcock, Mr. Massey, Mr. Mallory, Sir John Singelby, and many more; most of them were kept close prisoners till some were paroled upon to be witnesses against others. The design was laid in Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex, the Army being ready to have passed over from Flanders with an Army under Count Marston the P. of Orange, and Portsmouth, and other Maritime Towns, were ready for the purpose sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, acquainting them with what the Government had





had made, and the danger they were in, who thereupon made a new Proclamation, and charged the Officers of the Trained Bands, and the Protector downed his Guards, and an alarm was given, that on May 16. the Cavaliers had appointed for their Rising and firing the Town, and all the Soldiers about the City to be murdered, so all the 6 Regiments were raised at once, and divers Citizens seized.

Then another High Court of Justice was erected, before whom Dr. Hewitt, and Sir H. Sangle were brought and charged with High Treason upon these Articles: 1. That they had traiterously and maliciously endeavored to raise Forces, and levy War against his Highness and the Government, and to kill him and alter the same, 2. That they had traiterously declared, published, and pronounced, Ch. Stuart, eldest Son to the late K. Charles, to be King of England, Scotland and Ireland, 3. That they had held Intelligence with the said Ch. Stuart. Dr. Hewitt would not own the Crime, but pleaded several Crimes against him, and was therefore condemned as mur- derous. His next lot was the Bar, who argued very boldly and fully against the Evidence, that was produced by the Witnesses. Sir H. Sangle

**FILE**

about this time a great number of boats were  
run up as far as Greenwich, where a number of  
men, like his very father, being pursued with guns and  
other weapons, with great danger, and at length were  
blasted dead in the shore.

The French and English Armies being joined now lay down before Dunkirk, resolving to take it before they starved, which hourly alarmed the Spaniards at their Quarter; whereupon Don John of Austria considering the importance of this place, as being the Key of Flanders, and a Frontier of France, sent the Duke of Marlborough to it, who might have an opportunity to conquer all Flanders, by the Forces that might be continually landed from England, with the Supplies of Money which the Town, by their Booties, brought into the Treasury. Upon this and the like Motives he resolved to attempt to Relief, the which he began of his whole Army, he sent half getting them to Flanders, the English and French Forces and then advanced to the Spanish Quarter, and still proceeded under the Wall. The Spaniards hearing their Relief might come one day, made haste to fix all Engines, and sent to effect which, Don John had General drawn most of the Cavalry and Foot Guards



of 2500 men, with which he marches into the  
 town, and incamps within a mile and a half of the  
 Town, Quarters, of which the Confederates were  
 advised, dislodged with a loss of 1000, leaving  
 enough to Guard the Frontier, and make good their  
 approach, if the Town was should attempt to rally.  
 With this Detachment, and ten pieces of Cannon,  
 Town sent the Spies: The English Foot drawn  
 up in a great Battalion was ordered to give the  
 first shot, and the Battalion of South Fort, who had  
 the advantage of the ground, being placed upon three  
 different points, were ordered by Gen. John Murren.  
 The English were commanded by the L. Lockhart,  
 who having had a great deal of Hope of a quick  
 success, sent the 2nd Regt. together with the 1st  
 Regiment of Foot, under Col. Frawley, to fly slowly



Battle with the Cardinal's Armies, and after which  
 Cardinal de Richelieu, on his Town in the French  
 was obliged to leave his Camp, and  
 rise up to fight the Army under Marshal d'Au-  
 mant, and Cardinal de Richelieu to provide a Fleet to  
 port them. Articles of Agreement were made between  
 them and the Spaniards, and May 14. the Fleet ap-  
 peared before Orléans, and the Garrison in the Fort  
 permitted the French to pass by and land. But the  
 Governor, fearing if the English Fleet should cross  
 the River, they might endanger the Town, he with  
 his own hands pulled down the white Flag, and set  
 up the bloody Flag. And before the English Fleet  
 could back down, and get out of danger, they were  
 surrounded by the Cannon from the Fort, and the 1500  
 Frenchmen landed, were every man of them either  
 killed or taken; the Marshal d'Aumont being made a  
 Prisoner. The French that were not kill'd Marston  
 released, but the French who had been at the great  
 charge for the Fleet, could get no reputation from the  
 Cardinal. This was both these refused Politicians  
 ordered by the feeble Spanish Governor, who also  
 published the Story, under the Title of, 'Harm worth  
 Remembered.'

The Lady Cleypool, the Protector's second and be-  
 loved Daughter, whose Image she was said to be, dy-  
 ed Aug. 6. 1658. at Hampton Court, and was cover-  
 ed down by water with a great number of row-  
 ing Barges, to the Palace Chamber at Westminster,  
 where a stately Hearse was prepared for her, from  
 whence she was carried about 13. at night to St. Hen 7.  
 Chapel and there interred in a place purposely pro-  
 vided for her. The Death of this Lady was find to  
 be very grievous to her Father, and thought it as he  
 saw it as his own loss. After she dyed of an inward  
 Jaundice in her Lungs, he gave Agony and Pain,  
 after she had in her Bed. His death discovered  
 her Father with some sorrows she then utter'd about  
 his proceedings. To this disturbance was added the  
 division of his own Family, his Son in-law Phaulcon-

& his Brother to the Dorchester County, with the  
 Commissioners then the Differing Officers of the Army  
 in England & several others. So he was very ill  
 till about the end of August, & did then the  
 little appear that the difference was not in his mind  
 alone. For shortly after he was taken with a flow  
 of blood, that at length degenerated into a Bilious Tertian  
 Ague. For a week the ague continued so, without a  
 very dangerous Symptom, so that every day he  
 walked abroad. But one day after dinner, his Physi-  
 cian coming to wait on him, one of them feeling his  
 Pulse, said it intermitted, at which instantly started,  
 he looked pale, and ordered himself to be carried to  
 Bed, where being refreshed with Cordons, he made his  
 will, only feeling his pulse and a little better.  
 Next morning when one of his Physicians came to vi-  
 sit him he asked him why he would so fast, when he  
 made answer, That so it became his duty, who had  
 the care of his Life & Health upon him. You Physi-  
 cians said he, Think I shall die. Then the Country be-  
 ing removed, holding his Wife by the hand, he spoke  
 to the Physician to this purpose; I tell you I shall sur-  
 vive this bout, I am sure of it. And because he ad-  
 veyed the Physician to look more anxiously upon him  
 at these words, Don't think (said he) that I am mad,  
 I speak the words of truth, upon firmer grounds than  
 Galen or your Hippocrates furnish you with, God Al-  
 mighty himself hath given that answer not to my  
 prayers alone, but also to the Prayers of those who  
 maintain a stricter communion, and greater intimacy  
 with him. Go on cheerfully, banishing all doubts  
 from your looks, and deal with me as you would do  
 with a dying man. You may have skill in the na-  
 ture of things; yet nature can do more than all Physi-  
 cians together; and the Lord is far more above  
 nature. Some repeated he, said, That as God had  
 carried him in this height, he did truly believe, he  
 had some farther work for him to do.

But being ordered to take his rest, because he had  
 not slept most part of the Night, in the Physician



(which was the subject of these passages) was coming out of the Chamber, he accidentally met another, who had been sitting down and talking with him, to whom he said, I am afraid our Patient will be light-headed. The other instantly replied Sir, You are certainly a strange kind of Doctor. Does you know what was done last night? The Physicians and all who are dear to God being directed into several parts of the Pallace, have fasted and pray'd to God for his Health, and have all brought this Answer, He shall recover.

May be said, did this Embarrass'd humer prevail that a Patient kept at Hampton Court for his sake, the Ministers did not so much pray to God for his health; nor any thanks for the undoubted pledges of his Recovery; and they repeated the same Thanksgivings almost yearly. This vain confidence of his Physicians, was the cause that his Physicians judg'd it unnecessary to mention a word of his danger.

At the next word of the Treasurer leaving Hampton Court, Richard was brought into his late Father's Chamber, and the Physicians met in Consultation in this Delivery Chamber. But next morning another Physician who had watched all night with him, came and told them how ill he had been in the last Night, so they concluded that he could hardly outlive another. This sentence of the Physicians reaching the Privy Council, they came to advise him that he would name his Successor. For when in a doubtful Place he answer'd from the purpose, they ask'd him, if he did not name Richard his eldest Son for his Successor, to which he answer'd, Yes. Then being ask'd where his Will was which he told he had not, he sent for it in his Closet, and other places, but in vain, for he had either cancelled it himself, or else some body had convey'd it away. And so Richard was nominated his Heir. That night he was observ'd to pray as followeth.

Lord I am a miserable Creature, yet I am in Covenant with thee through Grace, and I may, I will come

consider me for the People's Lord, then I will make  
me the very unworthy, and mean instrument to do  
them some good, and thus I shall be the cause of their  
happiness. I have a value for men, and others would be  
glad to my fall. But Lord, do thou send to them.  
Give compliance of judgement, and heart and  
mutual love unto them: Let the name of Christ  
be glorious throughout the world: Permit such  
as delight to trample upon the Afflictions of the World,  
and pardon the folly of the Wise. Pardon, even for  
Jesus Christ his sake.

This was on Thursday Night, and on Friday Morn-  
ing, Sept. 30. 1658. his twice Victorious day, at  
Dunbar and Worcester, there appeared all the signs  
of a dying passion, and about three o'clock in the af-  
ternoon he expired. A day or two before his death  
a very great Tempest happened, and was thought  
to portend it: Which was then elegantly described  
by the Peer Laureat of our Age in the following  
Poem, wherein he wit and reason and for the history.

*Upon the Death of Oliver Cromwell  
Lord Protector, and the great  
Sword.*

Woe it is, when Heaven the great Souldiers doth claim,  
As when at last his immortal Fame,  
His dying Groans, his last Breath shakes our Isle,  
And Freedom at fall for his funeral Pile,  
About his Palace their brand Bonds were rost, and  
into the Air, as Romulus was lost and lost, he rost  
New Rome in such a Tempest with her King,  
And from Obeying fell to worshipping,  
In Oen's Top the Hecates lay dead,  
With ruin'd Oaks, and Pines about him spread,  
The Father too, whose though he seem to wear  
his Victorious head, lay prostrate dead.

That he left him from the Moorwinrent,  
 One dying Hero from the Continent.  
 Ravish while he stood from Spaniards rent,  
 As his last Labour to sustain left.  
 The Court which our hopes long crown'd  
 Could give no Death to the latter Mind:  
 Our Towns misgiving, but was his sternest Toil:  
 Nor hath he left us nothing to the life.  
 Under the People's in our Language spoke,  
 And part of Plunder hath received our Yoke.  
 From Civil Wars he did us disengage  
 Found our Country for our Martial rage;  
 And with his conduct to his Country show'd  
 Their Ancient way of conquering abroad:  
 Ingrateful then if we as Tears allow,  
 To him that gave us Peace and Empire too:  
 Pained that fear'd our grief, Concern'd to see,  
 No Part of Glory from the Grave is free.  
 Heav'n took notice of his Death,  
 And his Soul in a better World breath'd:  
 That to his Widow, her sorrowing Maid,  
 The approaching Fate of their great Ruler told

That you have a full account of the life of Oliver  
 Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, Scotland  
 and Ireland, whose name mov'd him to that high  
 command he rais'd his Family to the highest  
 rank of the Kingdom, and the Nations of that  
 that Foreign Princes feared and lov'd him. He had  
 two Sons Richard who succeed'd him, and Henry  
 who from his young years of Age, was by his Father  
 bred a Soldier, and was at his Death Lord Deputy of  
 Ireland: And four Daughters, Bridget first married  
 to the Lord Deputy Ireton, and afterward to the Lord  
 Fleetwood. Elizabeth his second Daughter, married  
 to the Lord Clepeash Master of his Horse. Mary his  
 third, married to the Lord Falkland. Francis  
 his youngest, married to the Lord Rich. Graham  
 the Earl of Warwick.

# His CHARACTER.

IT may seem difficult to give a just and impartial Character of this great Man, considering the different Sentiments that have passed upon him. However it may not be amiss, to give some account of his Humor, Temper, and Inclinations, from which may appear most moderate on either side.

I have already declared his Defect and Rediviva, and I have only to add, what some have written: That the name of this Family was not originally Cromwell but Williams, and that this of Cromwell was by this accident, when the great Lord Cromwell fell, in the Reign of R. Henry 8. he had in his service one Williams, a Person of lively Parts, and industrious in business; which R. Henry observing (after his Masters death) he gave him a considerable Employment, and upon all occasions called him Cromwell, his Masters Name; And the King being after the rest, answered, That he called him so from Cromwells time, and would continue to call him so still, and this name continued down from that time to Sir Oliver Cromwell, and thence to our Protector.

As to his Religion: after the apparent Reformation that was visible in him, if he were not sincere, yet he studied to gain the opinion of the ordinary Landity among the Ministry. And in the beginning of the same Collection on the March of the Kings Army against the Parliament under the Earl of Essex, he sold some great Men of that Party, that the Rabble of which their Forces were composed would never be able to prevail against the King, whose Army consisted of Gentlemen that fought upon the motive of Honor, and not for pay only as theirs did. But if they designs to fight with equal courage and success they must employ honest Soldiers, or at least Officers who would take well for Conscience sake, so having leave to raise a Regiment, he by Letters and Menagers raised from several Counties all the sober men

men of his acquaintance to lift themselves for Soldiers. Whereupon a great number of those who were then called Puritans, and had suffered by the Ecclesiastical discipline flocking in to him, so that he soon made up a Regiment of above a thousand Horse, who tho' at first undisciplin'd either in managing Arms or Horses; yet by diligence and Industry, they quickly became excellent Soldiers. For Cromwel insured them to feed and dress their own Horses; to lye on the ground upon occasion; to keep their Arms fixt and clean, to be always ready for service; to chase the best Armour, and to Arm themselves with the best advantages. Being constantly trained up in this kind of Military exercise; they obtained more Victories and excelled all their Fellow Soldiers in Years of War. This was the beginning of that new Model so called in 1645, which met so successful against the King's old disciplin'd Troops. For these Soldiers were by Cromwel preferred to be Commanders and Officers in this new Army, their pay was supplied with fifty shillings Salaries; which Oliver valued so, and kept in very strick Discipline; and he was often heard to glory in the Advice, he had given for new modelling the Army, who being zealous for the Cause seldom fail'd in any Undertaking. After this, Cromwel was made Major General of the Horse, then Lieutenant General, and at last Lord General; till after all he rais'd himself to the Dignity of Protector, and attain'd the highest place of Honour and Authority; and few ever apply'd themselves with greater industry in the administration of the Commonwealth, so that his honest and vigorous acknowledg'd, he was unworthy of the Government had his way been plain and innocent in obtaining the same.

Though he appeared zealous in Religion, yet he espous'd the opinion of any particular Sect. For he seem'd inclin'd to the Independents, desiring that it was his only Will to see the Church in Peace under one Shepherd the Lord Jesus Christ; Thow

in the mean time he promoted dissensions between them; and having projected specious Proposals of Reconciliation between the Presbyterians and Independents, when they are upon the point of Agreement, he set them at greater variance, and under pretext of moderating and pacifying the Scotch Remonstrances and Assembly Men, he kindled greater Flames among them. Thus by turns he Courted all Parties in Religion. And when the Presbyterians grew somewhat troublesome to his Government and their Neighbours, he let loose the Anabaptists, Quakers and other Sects, who took upon them to dispute with their Preachers, and to interrupt them in their Publick Worship, thereby creating no small trouble to them; nay (saith my Author) he was heard to glory privately, that he had curbed that insolent Sect, (as he privately called them,) which would suffer none but it self. So that they were obliged to thank him for granting them permission to preach and worship God after their own manner in their Congregations. But the Independents had the chief Places of Profit and Honour, whom he countenanced with his own Familiarity, and of whom his Domestick Chaplains were composed; and at length gave them liberty to call an Assembly of their Preachers at the Savoy, to draw up a Confession of Faith, and to justify themselves from the several opinions, where-with they stood charged; which was done accordingly in Sir John Richards time.

Though the publick use of the Common Prayer was denied to the Episcopal Party, yet in private Houses he showed them the use thereof; and had a particular regard and kindness for Dr. Brownrig, after Bishop of Exeter, with whom he was formerly acquainted at Cambridge. And likewise to the renowned Archbishop Usher, on whose Funeral he bestowed a pound.

But the Clergy and Layety of the Royal Party in being declared enemies to his Government he



he kept a hard hand over them. And tho' he publicly detested, looked an implacable enemy to the Papists; yet he was very familiar and obliging toward some of them. Nay one time a Treaty was begun about a General Tolleration of their Religion, by converting the third part of their Estates given by former Laws, and which he duly received, into a certain sum of money, but not agreeing upon the sum, and finding it would be hurtful to the People, he desisted from it, yet Priests and Jesuits sayd Mass privately without disturbance.

He appointed a Court of Tryers for approbation of Ministers, who had power to bestow Church Livings, and to examine those that were admitted, about their conversion, and what marks they could produce of the Indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and concerning their manners and Learning. Hereby many Soldiers Tradesmen and Shopkeepers, were admitted to the Cure of Souls, without ordination, and mingled with some Church Preachers who had been ordained. Yet he allowed a Toleration of Religion, to all different Parties in Religion, whom he thought might not endanger his Government.

As to his demeanour in Civil matters; He endeavoured to accomodate himself to the different humours of men, with the Nobles and great Men, with some few of whom he had an intimacy, he delighted in jesting and facetious discourse, entertaining them with merry Collations, Musick, Hunting and Hawking. With the Religious and those that professed strict piety, he would discourse of Divine matters with the greatest seeming warmth and zeal, magnifying Divine Mercy, and laying his hand on his Heart would often Sigh and melt into Tears.

When he was in the Country he used once or oftener a year, to give the Neighbours about a Buck, or he run down in his Park, and some money to buy Wine to make merry with. He would often make Presents for the inferior Officers of the Army,

whilst they were feeding, before they had satisfied their Hunger, cause the Drums to beat, and let in the private Soldiers to fall on and snatch away the half eaten dishes; The robust and sturdy Soldiers he loved to divert, by making them sometimes throw a burning Coal into each others Boots, or to fling Cushions at one anothers heads; when the Officers had sufficiently laughed and tired themselves with these Pastimes, he would endeavour to open their Hearts freely, and drew some Secrets from the unwary, which he after made use of to serve his own purposes.

In short no man dived more cannily into the manners nor knew more of men; nay many man was singular in any Art or Faculty he soon found him out. He had a great Command over all his Passions and affections; could weep when he saw his Friend in Tears and laugh as he saw occasion, yet would sometimes break out into fury, yet to rage and blows; But next day would again be sorry for his Transports, and desire Pardon and Reconciliation.

That he had real Courage and Valour above most Men of his Time, his daring and prodigious Actions before related sufficiently declare, yet when he came to the Protectorship, and had thereby created to himself so many enemies, both among his own former Friends and Officers of the Army, as well as the Royalists, he seemed to fear every thing. He whom Squads of Warriors, roaring of Cannon and all the instruments of Death, could not appal in the open Field, appeared now disturbed at every new Face. He took particular notice of the Carriage, Manners, Habit and Language of all strangers, especially if they seemed joyful. He never went abroad but with strong Guards, wearing Armour underneath his Cloths, carrying a Sword, which on Danger, and several others about him, never coming back the straight publick Road, nor the same way, always travelling, but with great haste and speed. His Lodgings had several

several back Doors, Locks and Keys, with Guards set every night at each of them; neither did he seldom sleep a night together in the same Chambers, so that his mind suffered from adversity, especially after that Libel published against him, called, *Killing no Murder*; treating the killing of him as a Tyranny, by any hand, which was to be an Act not only glorious, but meritorious. These things so discomposed him, that he was known often to deplore the Condition he was in, and the obstinacy and headstrongness of the English Nation, (as he called it,) who would by no means be obliged to submit peaceably to his Government.

Upon this account he durst not trust the Tryal of State Offenders to the Conscience of a Legal Jury of twelve indifferent Men of the Neighbourhood, which is the ancient and singular privilege of English Men for many hundred years past, A Tryal that only pleases our Countrymen, as being according to Law, Reason and Equity. But if the offended Conqueror shall choose to appoint a few of his own Creatures as Arbiters of the Life and fortune of the People, they no doubt to please their Master, will quickly find all he is desirous to take off Guilty of Treason, and condemn them to suffer accordingly; which is indeed strange Justice, the same men being Accusers, Witnesses, Informers and Judges; yet this was his way of proceeding against his Enemies (as well as the usage of the Remainder of the long Parliament) to try and condemn the Free born Subjects of England by a new invented Tribunal called, *A high Court of Justice*. And therefore Cromwell affirmed, that Justice might be taken away as an Innuence of sacred Justice, which was thereby put into the hands of the profane Common People. That the weightiest matters of the Law, did not depend upon the Sentences of the Judges and the learned in the Law, but upon the pleasure and prejudices of a Company of Men destitute of all ingenious Learning, say sometimes almost of

Common Sense. That it were conformable to Justice that 40 men chosen out of the Flower of the whole Nation, should determine of Lives and Fortunes.

So Jurys did the strongest Bulwark against Tyranny, must be removed because he had been disappointed by them in 2 or 3 Instances: One was that three Royalists, Davison, Holder and Thordal, being committed to a Provost Marshal, in order to be tried before a High Court of Justice for a Plot in behalf of Charles II. They made their escape by Pistolling a Soldier that guarded them. But being taken, were tried for Murder at the Kings Bench Barre, the Lord Chief Justice promising his endeavours to have them condemned. When they came upon their Tryal, they pleaded Not Guilty, and the Question was, whether they were legally committed, it appeared what they did was in their own defence, and could be only Manslaughter. The Jury found them not legally committed, and so acquitted them of the Murder. This with the clearing of John Lilburne, and likewise of Sir John Stawell some time before, who notwithstanding the Capitulation he made upon surrendering one of the Kings Garrisons, was thrice brought to a Tryal for his Life and thrice acquitted by the Jury, which was absolutely contrary to Law, to be tried again for the same Fact. These things made Cromwel inveigh bitterly against the Ancient and Excellent way of Tryal by Jury.

And as his Conduct herein was as Arbitrary as his turning out his Masters from whom he had his Commission, without any pretence of Authority. So his assuming the Government in a single Person since he had publicly renounced the same by Oath, with his dissolving of Parliaments afterwards discovers him to have a Confidence of no very tender Conscience. And tho' his Policy was remarkable in many instances as well as his Courage, yet his joining with France against Spain, which was too low before for his Rival, and scarcely be allowed to be the effect of any great

Though it may be imagined by the anti-  
thinks, that of some of his Preachers, in whom he  
had reposed much confidence, who assured him,  
That he should go on and prosper, that he was the  
first cut out of the Mountain without blemish, men-  
tioned in the Prophecy of Daniel. That he should  
be in the Bride of the Spouse, crush Antichrist,  
and the Inquisition, and make way for the purity of  
the Gospel over the whole World; These and such  
other flatteries made him undertake, it may be, what  
he never at first designed.

However a Gentleman, who had no great view  
farther, allows that in some things he deserved well  
of the Nation, namely, That by his more hum-  
bled and subdued the Argentine, Tripoly, and Tunis  
Pyrites, than any ever before or since. That West-  
minster Hall had never more Learned and upright  
Judges, nor was Justice in Law or Equity ever more  
equally distributed, in Civil Cases where the Go-  
vernment was not concerned. That he dispensed with  
the Act of Navigation, which had brought great in-  
conveniencies upon the Nation. That tho' he was  
very successful in his War with France against Spain,  
yet he made a more advantageous Treaty of Commerce  
with France than ever the English had before. That  
he had the Sea Towns of Dunkirk and Mallick  
conquered from Spain, delivered up to him, and  
would have had Offenders had he not been defeated,  
thereby to be Arbitrator over the French or Spaniards  
when he pleased. Lastly, that he contrived the best of  
our Monarchs, in rendering the Laws to the Subject in  
the English Tongue, which is conformable to Com-  
mon Justice, for as Law be made in a Language not  
understood by the Subject, it is all one as if there  
were no Laws at all; because where there is no Law  
there is no Transgression.

Another Learned Author says, That during his  
Government, Mons. Ministers, at least outwardly,  
seemed to be reformed for the better, whether by

real abstracting the Fear of Lavery, or far fear of the Ancient Laws now revived and put in execution like in Court, was also regulated according to a severe discipline; he who Drunkard, Swearer Whoremonger, nor any guilty of Stribery was to be found, without severe Punishment. There began again to Prosper, and Gentle Peace to flourish all over the Nation. Thus written the Gentleman, who in other instances appears specifically his Enemy. We will then conclude with that old Maxim, What was good to him, he will imitate, what was otherwise, he will avoid.

After his expiration the Corps was embalmed, and wrapped in a sheet of Lead, and being so, about Ten or Night, removed from Whitehall to a mourning House, in Somerset House where his Effigy was with great magnificence exposed publicly to the view of multitudes, whom came daily to see it. Till the following day, when in great State it was conveyed from Somerset House to Westminster, and placed in the Abbey Church, under a Gothic Monument erected for it with the Banner and six halberds. The next day about it, the Corps having been seen, it was there buried in a Vault purposely prepared in Saint Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

Upon the Death of Oliver Cromwell it plainly appeared, that his single Courage, Candour and greatness of Mind, was the principal support of his new Government, which upon his Fall, soon tottered and fell also.

His eldest Son Richard was proclaimed Lord Protector, but the Officers of the Army differ among themselves, some affirming, that Cromwell when he was well provided his Son a Law Clergymen, that he should succeed him; (as being very Gaily) others, That pursuant to the Instructions of Government, he had elected Richard for his Successor. The old Republican Party having received hard usage from the Protector, resolved to revenge it upon his Son, by changing the Protectorship into a Commonwealth.

Richard's



Richard whose Judgment and Affairs were managed by the direction and suggestion of others, was persuaded by his friends in this Exigency, to call a Parliament, which he did accordingly, who met Jan. 1. 1659. and Recognized and acknowledged Richard as lawful Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, and hearing that the discontented Officers Caballed against him, they made an Ordinance against their Meeting without Order; which to sting the Officers, that they resolved to be rid of Richard and his Parliament too. Some of his Commanders advised him to force the principal of them; but this he had no leisure to do, only talked big, and threatened, which they might have easily perceived that terrified, terrified, and terrified (as some said) to Sir Whitchell, and Sir John Corbett, if he did not instantly dissolve the Parliament, which he was forced to do, and then they persuaded him to resign the Government, which he did, and May 7. 1659. the Officers of the Army took the Remains of the last Parliament, (in which called the Rump,) which made laws for King Charles II. So Richard Cromwell went about a Month before he returned to his former private condition, and the Family of the Cromwells has since been extinct.

Overall and Satisfaction, I have given a particular Account in the History of K. Charles II. of the same Year with this, to which I refer the Reader.

*Sic tranſit Gloria Mundi.*

FINIS.

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